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This study concentrates on the significant changes in policies and decisions as the New York City school system shifted from its previous efforts to desegregate the schools to the current attempts at decentralization. The major controversy in the city is now focused on who shall govern the schools. Findings are based on a three-part systems analysis, and the data are drawn from the experience of I.S. 201, Two Bridges, and Ocean Hill-Brownsville experimental school districts. Discussed are the administrative issues, the demographic aspects of these schools and communities, and the parents' characteristics and attitudes. Also included are chapters on a systems analysis of the transformation of urban education, and on the nature of the communication between the authorities and their clients. [Not available in hard copy due to marginal legibility of original document.] (NH)

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DECISION-MAKING IN THE SCHOOL DESEGREGATION-DECENTRALIZATION CONTROVERSIES

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SUMMARY

During the past five years New Yorkers have experienced considerable community contention, controversy, and conflict in their school system. Superintendents have been dismissed or resigned, and there has been a good deal of turnover of members on the Board of Education since their number was increased by the State Legislature. School-community relations have become highly politicized, with student boycotts--black and white--and teachers strikes over who should govern; high schools have had to be closed to restore an orderly educational climate; the courts have been resorted to for resolution of sharp disagreements not only over policy but also over regulating the behavior of the professional staff as well as of members of the schools boards and the communities at large.

This study of the decision-making processes in school controversies in New York City was undertaken in the full recognition that events were shifting rapidly. There were significant changes in policies and decisions as the system moved from desegregation to decentralization. In fact, precisely the purpose of this study was to follow and explain this change. We have concentrated upon the controversy over decentralization because this policy has the most immediate and long-range impacts on the transformation of urban education. We do not say that integration is dead, but simply that the major struggle in transforming urban education is focused on who shall govern the schools. New York's experience could serve as an exploratory model for other big cities.

The Problem of the Study

The key problem facing urban educators is to improve the quality of their educational program and make it competitive with those of the suburban schools as well as to regain the prominence once enjoyed by big-city schools. Central to this task is the need to correct the wide disparity in educational outcomes by redistributing available resources in order to provide equality of educational opportunities. The white community's resistance to desegregation policies has blocked the full and effective implementation of specific plans for integration that were stimulated by the black community's demands for restructuring the schools by means of decentralization and community control--a redistribution of power and authority. An educational crisis has developed in New York City over this problem. The earlier dilemma of quality versus integrated education, which could have been transposed into a paradox of quality-integrated education, has been substantially transposed into the dilemmas of professionals versus parents and of blacks versus whites.

Objectives and Methods of the Research

The struggle for equality of education has become one of blacks against whites, the disadvantaged against the advantaged, and the powerless against those with power and authority. The major objective of this study of educational controversies was to describe, explain, and explore possible future contingencies inthe decision-making process. The struggle is set in a split-level federal system, especially in the big city with its myriad of various local subcommunities. Therefore, we modified our earlier formulation of a three-stage decision-making model into a system-and-subsystem approach that enhances our explanation of recent events and school controversies.

We adopted David Easton's model of a political system for our own analysis of the problems and dynamics of transforming urban education. Easton suggests a systems analysis of political life that is based on the question, "How does any political system persist?" The essential variables of such a system are: (1) the authoritative allocation of values for the society and (2) the acceptance by the citizens of these allocations as binding upon the population for a given period of time. Stress occurs in the system when either the authorities cannot make decisions or their decisions no longer are accepted as binding.

Authoritative decisions are expressed in terms of outputs. These outputs may be mere policy proclamations or they may be a completed process--policy, plan, and implementation. Whatever the output, its effect is bound to the *systemic* feedback loop. Feedback in this sense is information returned to the authorities. The feedback loop includes three structural elements: (1) the outputs and their outcomes, (2) the members of the system at the input entrance, and (3) the authorities. The phases of one cycle around the feedback loop are: (1) the outputs and outcomes as *stimuli* to the participants; (2) the *feedback response* by members of the system; (3) the *information feedback* about the response to the authorities; and (4) the *output reaction* by the authorities to that feedback response.

The data on parental attitudes included in Part II of this report provide the basic sources of feedback on the four phases of the feedback loop, that is, on the perceptions and behavior of the participants and parents in an educational system. These include five educational settings: (1) the larger citywide system, (2) the suburbs, (3) the demonstration projects subsystem, (4) an integrated educational subsystem, and (5) a segregated subsystem.

We also classified three significant dimensions of the political climate in the three demonstration projects. The first dimension is the power structure, here defined as a pluralistic or an elite system. The pluralistic structure has a diverse social basis with various elements competing to govern the schools--the situation found in the Two Bridges Demonstration Project. The elite system is a homogeneous social structure with a relatively small group or cabal governing the schools--the situation found in the Ocean Hill-Brownsville and IS 201 Demonstration Projects. The second dimension is the potential degree of political influence the parents have, which ranges from high to low and defines them as politically relevant or apolitical (discussed in Chapter VIII). The third dimension distinguishes between those who want the community to have more influence and those who want less influence in educational decision-making (discussed in Chapter VII).

From the perceptions of parents we have constructed not only the output feedback stimuli (what the parents perceive that the outputs mean to them) but also the feedback response (what it is that parents are demanding, whom and what they are supporting as a result of their perceptions about the output). An insight into information feedback was provided by parental behavior (what parents are doing that the authorities can interpret as supportive of, apathetic about, or resistant toward specific outputs, or supportive of or resistant toward the authorities, the regime, or the political community in general).

The two policy outputs central to this study were pursued through the feedback loop. The first output is desegregation, labeled Round I; the second is decentralization, labeled Round II. We would have preferred a different time measurement or parent survey for each policy output. However, we attempted to distinguish between the two by referring to system level factors in the case of desegregation and to subsystem level factors in the case of decentralization, since the latter is essentially a subsystem phenomenon.

General and Specific Findings

We learned that there is much dissonance in the school system and that it is enhanced by both the authorities and the clients. The discord, tension, and conflict, in turn, affect both the public officials and the parents as they shape their respective responses and reactions. Generally, the outputs were not clear because policies have had few specific plans and those plans have been inadequately implemented.

The authoritative output of desegregation never was accepted by white parents as a comprehensive change. It provided conflicting stimuli and different expectations for various segments on the clientele. Most parents in the disadvantaged and minority communities wanted desegregation; most of those in the advantaged and white communities did not. While the minority communities responded with support for the authorities and rising expectations for better education, the whites decreased their support for the authorities and increased their demands for quality education. When the desegregation output provided only policy formulation, piecemeal plans, and partial implementation, the reactions of the disadvantaged parents were ambivalent. Some responded with increased pedagogical demands and some developed incipient power demands. There was sufficient information feedback for the authorities to be caught between the contradictory demands and differential offerings of support from the polarized white and black segments of the greater community and the fragmented black community.

As stress grew in the system, the authorities were forced to respond with an output which could better balance the demands and the supports. Therefore, they formulated an administrative decentralization policy which recognized the de facto control of the local neighborhood school by whites and the growing desire for similar control by blacks over their neighborhood schools. Ambiguities also developed around the three demonstration projects and the concept of community control. Viewed as structural reorganization by some and as a comprehensive power shift by others, decentralization received favorable generalized support. However, considerable dissonance was heard when the specific plan of operation was implemented and the various participants saw how their vested interests would be affected. Once more, contradictory demands were generated, differential feedback was received, and the authorities again were caught between opposing, polarized views of decentralization.

Summary of Findings on Desegregation

The fact that desegregation policy outputs have been severely curtailed in New York City indicates that the authorities were reading the citywide sentiments as largely reflective of the greater white society. This in spite of the fact that all disadvantaged groups have been highly in favor of desegregation, especially those parents whose children are experiencing traditional or black segregated education and those whose children are actually experiencing a racially mixed education. The authorities would find it difficult to ignore the loss of support for themselves and the regime among the predominantly white society as the result of a desegregation policy. They also could not help but contrast the satisfaction and support among suburban parents for their schools, their authorities, and their regimes.

The authorities also could read that only a small proportion of parents in the city at large and few within many disadvantaged groups really believed that whites received a better education than blacks. Few of the disadvantaged were cynical or aware of the sanctioning in the system. The authorities learned that educational demands were not overwhelming in the black communities but were becoming so in the greater white society. They easily read that there was greater support for the authorities and the regime in the disadvantaged areas than in the city at large and therefore, politically speaking, if the authorities desired to maintain the system, they must respond with policy outputs that would both increase citywide (predominantly white) support and maximize the support of the disadvantaged communities. Thus, if the authorities recognize the rigid cleavages that have developed between the white community and the disadvantaged black communities over desegregation, their best response would be a plan to permit each of many segments to control and change those elements most disturbing to it. In the case of the white society, the focus would be increased quality of education without integration; in the case of the blacks, it would be increased local community power followed by improved quality. Those in the disadvantaged communities who are most likely to control under such circumstances are the politically relevant. Although the politically relevant represent only about 10 per cent of the community, they will most likely be reinforced by those parents who want more influence.

Summary of Findings on Decentralization

Although desegregation as a policy output produced great variations of reaction among participants, and although decentralization generally was supported, there is no greater actual consensus about the latter than about the former. Desegregation clearly was understood as being intended to correct the racial mix of the public schools by means of rezoning or reorganizing the existing patterns of school attendance. As a policy promulgation, integration was accepted, at least not visibly resisted. However, when specific plans for implementation were announced, white resistance developed around the particular schools affected and spread throughout the city, resulting in a major white boycott of the schools in September, 1964. It should be noted that the black parents generally accepted integration and conducted their own, more effective boycott of the schools to express their demands in support of desegregation.

Decentralization, on the other hand, still remains virtually in the policy promulgation stage. The Board of Education's general administrative decentralization plan of April, 1967, was not widely understood or even perceived as being in operation--at any rate, with the exception of the three demonstration projects, it produced neither any substantial change nor any controversy. The major impacts on the system were the early disputes at IS 201 and the major confrontation between the Ocean Hill project authorities and the teachers, which resulted in a ten-week citywide strike by the UFT. The final form of the decentralization and the steps of its implementation now are in the hands of the State Legislature at Albany. It is as likely that when the New York City decentralization plan takes a specific form, the variation in perceptions and responses will be as great as they were with regard to the plans for desegregation.

Our parent survey has shown that most parents, black and white, favor decentralization. However, those living under the pluralistic power structure, the apoliticals, and those wanting less influence form only small proportions in favor of decentralization, suggesting that they may be apprehensive of greater community involvement or of being governed by factions of the opposition. Those parents living in the elite power structure also are less supportive of decentralization than blacks in general, an indication that they may expect the plan will not be extensive enough for them.

The authorities may find themselves once again in a difficult situation with a specific decentralization plan. Although whites in the citywide sample favored decentralization in theory, only a small proportion of them wanted more influence in school affairs generally or in specific educational areas, whereas at least half the blacks in the citywide sample, the demonstration project parents, and those in the integrated and segregated areas all wanted more influence both generally and in specific educational areas.

Few parents want to eliminate due process as it pertains to the teachers, but those who favor community control, even at the expense of due process, are the citywide blacks, the politically relevant, and those who want more influence in the demonstration project subcommunities. Few parents rate their local school boards positively, but those who do are the parents in the integrated area and the politically relevant in the demonstration projects. However, most parents trust their local boards, thereby indicating that these boards need to have either more effective personnel or greater authority with which to respond to their clients' needs. Finally, most parents prefer to have professionals rather than parents governing under a strong decentralization plan, thus necessitating a partnership between parents, professionals, and community.

Few parents utilize the traditional channels to make their views known. However, those who make the greatest use of these channels are the politically relevant (the opinion-setters) and those who want more influence. Therefore, the authorities can expect, as they have learned in the past, that as dissatisfaction with the policy outputs grows, the parents, guided by spokesmen for comprehensive change, are more than likely to use illegitimate means to express their demands.

Obviously, the authorities have taken into account the messages of the apoliticals, of those within the pluralistic climate, and of those who want less influence, because it facilitates their efforts to compromise after having experienced a period of prolonged conflict. However, they have not dealt with the fact that it is the politically relevant, in spite of their small proportions, who articulate and husband most of the demands.

Implications and Recommendations

We formulated a paradigm of the processes avilable for transforming urban education. In addition to five alternative processes, we specified some necessary conditions, the change agents, their general strategies, and the consequential outputs and outcomes of the processes. Urban education has been undergoing a transformation as a result of changing policy outputs in response to the changing school clientele. The traditional process preferred by educators is professinalization; their objective is tomake the staff more effective or skillful. The educators prefer to work under conditions that insulate the schools from the vicissitudes of the political community, in other words, to "keep politics out of the schools." They expect to achieve sufficient change through pedagogical programs and practices with the specific educational objective being high quality schools. This, of course, is defined by the professional, with the support of the prevailing groups in society. The predicted general results of this process in the diverse changing urban scene are differential achievement rates based on caste and class, with growing awareness of those differentials by the educationally deprived. The expected outcome is stress and strain on the school system.

As spokesman articulate the educational demands of the disadvantaged, there is a growing insistence on the implementation of a policy of equality of educational opportunities through such programs as desegregation and compensatory education. As change agents, the political leadership and bureaucracy are expected to formulate and implement consequential policy outputs that provide quality-integrated education. Operating under competitive conditions, they attempt to *manage* in order to make the system more efficient on a cost-benefit basis by evolving strategies of compromise yielding only incremental change. The most likely outcome is a dissatisfied minority subcommunity with few representatives in the power structure who will support them in the struggle for equality in the schools.

As disappointment and dissatisfaction mount, and the processes of management continue to respond inadequately, the articulation and content of new demands grow out of a sense of frustration and urgency. The sense of righteous indignation deepens as reformers attempt to *re-form* the educational system through restructuring. Their strategic crusades generally result in reorganizational outputs with shifts in authority as the outcome.

Shifts in authority often are inadequate both in degree and in timing. Therefore, the conditions of mutually exclusive and ever-widening cleavages in the social system, at least at the threshhold of awareness, develop the *politicization* of the populace, with the objective being the acquisition of power. The strident voices of the ideologues as change agents dominate the political dialogue and their advocacy polarizes the issue. Policy paralysis ensues, because the authorities can provide few germane outputs to satisfy the majority. The controversy grows and the issue becomes depersonalized into support of abstract, doctrinaire, and dogmatic positions. The conflict becomes contagious and imminently threatening to other key variables throughout the larger, pluralistic community. One contemporary form experienced in American cities is urban revolt and riots.

As open conflict threatens the community, there is a recognized need to reduce tension. Two processes are suggested here if community contention, controversy, and conflict are not to destroy or seriously impair the viability of the system. The first is the process of *mediation*; with its objective of ameliorating tensions, it is apt to be a piecemeal, last-minute effort to avert a crisis. Each tension-producing situation is treated as unique by skilled professionals who attempt to negotiate ad hoc agreements to at least temporarily reduce tensions. Inasmuch as mediation deals primarily with the symptoms of the dispute and not the causal factors, the long-range outcomes are likely to promote the regeneration of tension and the possibility of severe conflict. When expectations are not realized, the mediation processes themselves come into disrepute and may themselves be discarded.

The second process is creative tension, with the ultimate objective of innovation. Status leaders from inside the system or catalytic agents generally from outside the system operate under conditions of severe conflict to create an atmosphere where the participants with vested interests can engage in the strategy of discovering superordinate goals. The process of discovery utilizes the problem-solving methods of professionalization, management, politicization, and mediation.. But it also includes a commitment to maximize sensitivity experiences, which take into account human emotions and probe in depth the realistic power bases of those who are participating in the process. The objective is to learn from these experiences. This process should release a newfound energy base which can be mobilized in the search for the superordinate goals. The most likely outcome is comprehensive change within the framework of a just society.

In New York City, with growing stress between the rigid cleavages of ethnic class, what process can we expect? It is most likely that the participants will continue to use the processes of professionalization, management, and escalating politicization, so that the authorities can provide a few outputs that will satisfy a majority of the clientele. If the system is to endure, then some means must be found to narrow the cleavages or provide goals and procedures that are acceptable to at least the politically relevant in the contending polarized groups. We are now at the point of an educational if not an urban crisis, the direction of which can turn to either a manmade disaster or creative and comprehensive change.

New Yorkers must expect a complex process of discovery in which all the participants--the authorities and the clients, the powerful and the powerless, the advantaged and the disadvantaged--must share. The authorities--whether elected or appointed, whether local, state, or federal--must exercise their leadership to develop the necessary and sufficient superordinate goals and facilitate the procedures for realizing them. They should understand the attitudes, sentiments, and beliefs of their constituents, so that the goals and procedures are both realistic and conceived to be politically feasible.

Our major recommendation is for the social scientist to adopt an action-research strategy to assist school officials meet the threats and challenges of transforming urban education. This recommendation includes two sets of operations that will maximize the use of the systems analysis and the paradigm on transforming urban education, both of which were developed in the course of this study.

The first operation is a monitoring-process analysis of the ongoing events of the system in order to secure the information and data that are necessary to diagnose the decision-making processes. This procedure would include extensive and intensive use of attitudinal surveys, with both the authorities and the clients providing not only more complete information for the feedback loop but also current and relevant data on demands and support available for the use of policy-makers. Next, there should be a mapping of ideologies and activities of the manifest and latent community leadership. Finally, a process analysis should be conducted of the interaction setting wherein the participants attempt to influence policy outputs.

The second operation is political prototyping--intervention as a means of exploring the significance of caste, class, and power and of assessing their relative effects upon political behavior and community action. The prototyping approach includes three strategies for intervention: The first is the mobilizing of citizens to participate in effective community action through politicization processes, the result of which is to stimulate demands that will articulate the citizens' needs. The second strategy is transforming urban institutions through processes of professionalization and management, which prepare institutions to respond to changing demands. The third strategy is managing tension through processes of mediation and creative tension, which result in an improved balance of citizen demands and supports. Thus, the authorities can formulate policies, programs, and plans that are necessary and sufficient to maintain a viable system.

CHAPTER I

FROM DESEGREGATION TO DECENTRALIZATION

Introduction

The major development affecting the public schools of New York and other big cities today is the movement to create and establish a subsystems approach to education. The trend is to set up smaller, quasi-autonomous decision-making units in an effort to allow for greater flexibility, if not deliberately to break up the highly bureaucratic systems that fail to meet the educational needs of children, especially the disadvantaged. The professional educator interprets this trend to mean decentralization of administrative functions and authority. To leaders in the disadvantaged areas and their supporters it means "community control." The proponents of each approach or movement have the common objective of providing quality schools and equality of educational opportunity. In fact, most of the interested groups publicly state their support of the general concept of decentralization. Each group, however, responds in its own way to the developments of urban education--once the hallmark of American education. Each has quite different perceptions of the situation, its own vested interests, and how alternative consequences may affect it. Each has a different sense of urgency. Each uses a different set of strategies and tactics which it considers the best way to achieve the common objective.

Currently, these differences in ends and means are in contention as professional educators find themselves pitted against many community and parent leaders. This controversy provoked the series of widespread and damaging teachers strikes of 1968, which one writer characterizes as:

> . . . the worst disaster my native city has experience in my lifetime--comparable in its economic impact to an earthquake that would destroy Manhattan below Chambers Street, much worse in its social effect than a major race riot. Worst of all, the strike will very probably reduce to the condition of a Boston or an Alabama, or some mixture of the two, a school system that was wretchedly ill-organized and weakly led but relatively alert intellectually and by no means so completely ineffective as it has become fashionable

> to say--and that was almost the only real hope the city could offer for the future of tens of thousands of Negro and Puerto Rican children.[1]

He refers not only to the loss of ten weeks of education for over a million youngsters but also to the public exposure of all the ethnic and racial tensions that challenge and threaten the social fabric of New York City. Decentralization has been and will continue to be the dominant issue in the New York State Legislature. It will continue to exert great pressure on the system of public education, calling for a significant structural reorganization of authority and possibly for a radical change in the distribution of power affecting who governs the schools. Decentralization is no minor pedagogical change.

In Part I of this report, Chapters I, II, and III narrate the broader developments in the transformation of urban education. Chapter IV presents the social and political setting of transitional subcommunities in the three demonstration projects--IS 201 in East Harlem, Ocean Hill-Brownsville in Brooklyn, and Two Bridges on the Lower East Side of Manhattan. Chapter I also explores briefly the problems of urban education, which may have reached the critical stage, and considers in what ways the three alternative strategies to deal with them have affected the present situations.

The Crises of Urban Education

There is growing alarm about the quality of the educational process both offered and accepted in the large urban school systems. In fact, some critics claim that the system is a failure. One recent article in Commentary is entitled "Why Our Schools Have Failed."[2] Others cite or use voluminous statistical information, often in highly polemical ways, to demonstrate either the dysfunctionality of the urban school system or the failure to implement what seem rational and appropriate policies and methods to provide equality of educational opportunities for all urban children. Many of the attacks are overgeneralized. They either characterize the whole system as a failure or charge that a handful of capricious, willful school officials are insensitive to good education or engaged in a conscious design to frustrate its delivery. Some critics even accuse officials of participating in a conspiracy to deny certain inherent rights to one segment of the population, i.e., the disadvantaged or the Negro and Puerto Rican minority children.

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[1] Martin Mayer, The Teachers Strike: New York, 1968 (New York: Harper & Row, 1969), p. 15.

[2] Peter Schrag, "Why Our Schools Have Failed," Commentary, Vol. 45, No. 3 (March, 1968), pp. 31-38.

Table I.1, for example, clearly shows that more than half the local school districts of New York City are achieving at or above grade level, as measured by reading scores in the second and fifth grades. It should be noted that those districts which were reading at or above grade level in the second grade gained in achievement by the fifth grade; the converse is true as well, for those districts which were reading below grade level decreased in achievement from the second to the fifth grade.

The critics' analyses are deceptive in their casual inclusion of the problems faced by the urban educator. They minimize the fact that the newcomer to the city, the new client of the schools, brings with him unusual problems that have never before confronted American education. These critics tally up the demographic statistics of the big city to show that a basic change is under way. Occasionally, they even enumerate the additional resources spent within the past decade to help improve education for the urban child, but they fail to underscore the magnitude of the problems.

Generally, these critics oversimplify the problem, for they do not carefully delineate the differential effects upon different levels of the educational delivery system. An exceptional and most informative study of Harlem education carried out for Harlem Youth Opportunities (HARYOU) makes a specific indictment: "The basic story of academic achievement in central Harlem is one of inefficiency, inferiority, and massive deterioration."[1] The report concludes that the major reason for this condition of education is that "the schools have lost faith in the ability of their pupils to learn, and the community has lost faith in the ability of the schools to teach."[2]

The irony is that the large urban school systems appear to mirror quite accurately the society they serve. That is, the youngsters who enter school with advantages leave with relatively the same advantages, and those who enter with disadvantages, unable to overcome them during their school years, leave even more poorly equipped to compete in the marketplace for jobs, homes, and the amenities of American life.

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[1] Harlem Youth Opportunities, Youth in the Ghetto: A Study of the Consequences of Powerlessness and a Blueprint for Change (New York: Harlem Youth Opportunities, 1964), p. 166.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 236.

TABLE I.1

MEAN READING SCORES FOR SECOND- AND FIFTH-GRADE STUDENTS AND DIFFERENCES FROM MEANS FOR NEW YORK CITY BY DISTRICT, 1968

District	Borough	Subcommunities	2nd-Grade Mean	+/- NYC Mean (2.7)	5th-Grade Mean	+/- NYC Mean (5.7)
1	Man	Lower East Side, East Midtown	2.3	-.4	4.9	-.6
2	Man	East Midtown, Yorkville, East Harlem	3.0	+.3	5.8	+.1
3	Man	Lower West Side, Lower East Side, Chelsea, Clinton, East Midtown, Lower Park West	2.9	+.2	5.7	-
4	Man	Central Harlem, North and South, East Harlem, Morningside-Manhattanville	2.5	-.2	5.0	-.7
5	Man	Central Harlem South, Clinton, Park West, Morningside-Manhattanville	2.6	-.1	5.2	-.4
6	Man	Central Harlem North, Inwood	2.7	-	5.4	-.3
7	Bronx	Concourse, Hunt's Point, Morrisania, South Bronx	2.3	-.4	4.4	-1.3
8	Bronx	Hunts Point, Morrisania, South Bronx, Throgs Neck	2.6	-.1	5.2	-.5
9	Bronx	Concourse, Morrisania	2.5	-.2	5.4	-.3
10	Bronx	Fordham, Morrisania, Morris Park, Riverdale, Tremont	3.0	+.3	6.2	+.5
11	Bronx	City Island, Morris Park, North Bronx, Williamsbridge, Tremont	2.9	+.2	6.3	+.6
12	Bronx	Morrisania, Morris Park, Tremont	2.2	-.5	4.8	-.9
13	Bkln	Bedford-Stuyvesant, Brooklyn Heights, Ft. Greene, Crown Heights, Park Slope, Red Hook	2.5	-.2	4.9	-.8

TABLE I.1 (continued)

District	Borough	Subcommunities	2nd-Grade Mean	+/- NYC Mean (2.7)	5th-Grade Mean	+/- NYC Mean (5.7)
14	Bkln	Bedford-Stuyvesant, Brooklyn Heights, Ft. Greene, Williamsburg	2.2	-.5	4.5	-1.3
15	Bkln	Borough Park, Brooklyn Heights, Ft. Greene, Park Slope, Red Hook, Sunset Park	2.3	-.4	5.0	-.7
16	Bkln	Bedford-Stuyvesant, Brownsville, Bushwick, Crown Heights, Williamsburg	2.3	-.4	4.6	-1.1
17	Bkln	Bedford-Stuyvesant, Brownsville, Brown Heights, Flatbush, E. Flatbush, Park Slope	2.5	-.2	5.2	-.5
18	Bkln	Brownsville, Canarsie, Crown Heights, Flatbush, E. Flatbush	2.9	+.2	6.1	+.4
19	Bkln	Brownsville, Bushwick, Canarsie, E. New York	2.3	-.4	4.8	-.9
20	Bkln	Bay Ridge, Bensonhurst, Borough Park, E. Flatbush, Sunset Park	2.9	+.2	6.1	+.4
21	Bkln	Bensonhurst, Coney Island, Gravesend, Midwood, Flatlands, Sheepshead Bay	3.1	+.4	6.3	+.6
22	Bkln	Coney Island, Flatbush, E. Flatbush, Midwood, Flatlands, Sheepshead Bay	3.5	+.8	7.3	+.6
23	Queens	Astoria, L. I. City, Sunnyside, Woodside, Jackson Heights, Elmhurst, Corona	3.0	+.3	6.3	+.6
24	Queens	Flushing, Forest Hills, Rego Park, L. I. City, Middle Village, Ridgewood, Woodside, Jackson Heights, Elmhurst, Corona	3.0	+.3	6.3	+.6
25	Queens	College Point, Whitestone, Central Queens, Flushing	3.4	+.7	7.4	+1.7
26	Queens	Central Queens, Douglaston, Little Neck, Bellrose	3.5	+.8	7.5	+1.8

TABLE I.1 (continued)

District	Borough	Subcommunities	2nd-Grade Mean	+/- NYC Mean (2.7)	5th-Grade Mean	+/- NYC Mean (5.7)
27	Queens	Jamaica, S. Jamaica, Middle Village, Richmond Hill, S. Ozone Park, Howard Beach, Rockaway, Ridgewood, Woodhaven	2.9	+.2	6.2	+.5
28	Queens	Forest Hills, Rego Park, Jamaica, S. Jamaica, Richmond Hill, S. Ozone Park, Howard Beach, Springfield Gardens, Laurelton, Rosedale	3.3	+.6	6.8	+1.1
29	Queens	Jamaica, S. Jamaica, Queens Village, Hollis, St. Albans, Springfield Gardens, Laurelton, Rosedale	2.9	+.2	6.7	+1.0
30	SI	Staten Island	3.2	+.5	6.4	+.7
32	Bkln	Ocean Hill-Brownsville	1.9	-1.8	4.1	-1.6

The critics interpret the concept of equality of opportunity to mean complete equality; then they apply it as the absolute criterion in assessing the school system. They pay lip service to the special educational problems of the newcomer, citing these difficulties in descriptive terms that show patterns of population change, the migration of students through the system, and the increasing proportions of Negro youngsters in the schools. But these statistics are mere prefatory statements or asides which then are forgotten or dismissed as the analyses proceed. For example, they may use a political model to explain educational decision-making, but then they may disassociate the economic and social conditions of politics from the reality of forces and cross-pressures that face the modern American educator who tries to provide generally improved education. Again, a critic may cite the many compensatory ways in which school officials are trying to shift and refocus the delivery system of education so that additional resources can be offered to disadvantaged children but not at the expense of the advantaged.

The New York State Board of Regents projects a sober view in its identification of six factors associated with the problem of urban education:

> The great size of population in the cities has resulted in systems of central educational control that are remote and too complex to be responsive to community and neighborhood needs.
>
> The preceding point is especially compounded today because the population turnover in the last two decades has resulted in an urban concentration of minority population groups which are blocked by barriers of race and language from full participation in the social, political, economic and educational life of the cities. This condition has spurred growing distrust for the established order and institutions of education.
>
> The proportion of non-white population in the cities, and especially in the public schools of the cities, is increasing. Racial isoloation in the schools is also increasing. Continuation or expansion of this isolation will perpetuate under-achievement for large portions of the non-white population and will impair the development of sound attitudes and understanding among the races.
>
> Cities have disproportionately high concentration of lower class population, both white and non-white. Education of persons in this class in isolation yields inferior results. To have equal opportunity, they must be educated in schools with predominantly middle-class populations. In some city school districts, the proportion of middle-class population in the public schools has declined to the extent that achieving desirable pupil assign-

ment within the city is extremely difficult, if not impossible.

The increasing use of violence as a means toward political ends portends the terrifying prospect that ghetto populations may believe firebombs, bricks, and gunshot are the only message which the majority will heed. There are in the ghettos forces that will disintegrate society and fracture all rapport among the races unless they can be redirected.

The loss of economic strength of the cities, heavy demands for safety, welfare and other city services on the tax dollar--the "municipal over-burden"--and restrictions of State legalities constitute a debilitating burden on the cities' capacity to finance necessary educational services.[1]

These factors underline tremendous problems and place constraints (some more imagined than real for those who choose to ignore the conditions) upon educators, especially those dealing with urban ghetto schools. Millions of Negro and other minority group and impoverished students now are destined to end their school years as educational cripples. It is estimated that by the time they finish sixth grade, approximately 85 per cent of the students who attend schools in New York's disadvantaged areas are retarded in reading ability by one year or more. Half the students are two or more years behind, and fully a third are considered "functionally illiterate." These children not only lack the necessary reading skills to continue their formal education but they enter the American mainstream with serious educational and social deficiencies. They swell the ranks of youths and adults who constitute what Conant has called the "social dynamite" of our cities.

Conditions have progressed to the stage where the question now is whether education in New York City faces a problem or a crisis. The very definition of a problem implies a solution. The problem-solving process is an orderly, diagnostic sorting-out of information, followed by a prescription from a set of rather well-known remedies. The situation in New York, however, seems to demand more than a merely rational approach as tensions mount, confrontations are played out, and despair envelops the populace, creating a malaise compounded of apathy, alienation, cynicism, and hostility. The issue, no longer only pedagogical, commands much if not most of the community's attention and energy. The controversy touches all socio-economic levels, highlights racial barriers which have yet to be effectively broken, involves ideologies that may not be articulated yet are actually guiding the attitudes and behavior of the participants--the politically relevant, the inarticulate mass, and the apoliticals.

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[1] New York State Board of Regents, Urban Education, A Position Paper (Albany, N. Y.: The University of the State of New York, The State Education Department, November, 1967), p. 5.

In reality, education in New York has reached the point of crisis and the major contenders are tensely poised in opposition to each other. The future can take the direction already characterized by some people as disastrous--chaotic, unmanageable, and threatening the very foundation of the city and the fabric of its institutional life.

The alternative directions are more likely to be followed, not only because these disasters are unprecedented and therefore inconceivable, but also because this manmade set of events can be turned in a number of directions. Strong forces are at work to change the situation as well as to maintain it. The most significant development in the present crisis is the politicization of both educators and the disadvantaged population. This development may be only temporary; the importance of the more powerful institutions in the system may take command of the situation, returning the dispute to "business-as-usual" and allowing for a host of pedagogical imperatives to reassert themselves.

Ironically, it is the use of these same imperatives--perhaps the most important of which is the American norm of "reading at grade level"--to stir deep feelings and raise expectations in the disadvantaged communities that has led to the educational crisis. What is needed now, in order to turn the crisis in a productive direction and provide both quality education and equality of educational opportunity, is a clinical diagnosis to guide the authorities who prescribe policy and implement specific operational plans.

Despite its highly pragmatic ideologies and characteristic openness to change, New York City has not developed a conception, an ability, or an effective means to improve the educational opportunities for black and Puerto Rican disadvantaged children. The city's educational achievements and innovative efforts are too abstract and unrealistic for its disadvantaged population. The policy pronouncements are flimsy, written for a fantasy world quite different from that of the dispossessed.

Nevertheless, New Yorkers have evolved three major substantive efforts to meet the educational needs of their children. The first involves providing education of the highest quality, traditionally the responsibility of the professional educator. In recent years, as he has developed a concern for the special problems of the disadvantaged child, the educator has been searching for and offering a variety of compensatory programs. The second effort, which is advanced by civil rights advocates and others who place a high priority on an integrated society, emphasizes plans for desegregating the city's schools, correcting the growing racial imbalance. The white resistance to specific plans for desegregation that would affect their children, schools, and neighborhoods is tantamount to taking control of "their" schools and has engendered a counterdemand by the black community to control "their" schools too. The third effort is the administrative move to decentralize the system into units of more manageable size.

We have coordinated a brief discussion of these three efforts in order to understand how New York has reached the present state of crisis. Since the three approaches have been used almost simultaneously during the last decade, it is difficult, if not inappropriate, to determine which approach stimulated the other. Probably all three have enhanced as well as exacerbated the attempt to provide better education for disadvantaged children. The outcomes of all three approaches also have generated the set of conditions leading to demands for community control. The failure of the compensatory programs to improve the achievement of the minority child, the rejection of the value of racially mixed classes implied by white resistance to desegregation, and the move to delegate more authority to many smaller subsystem units through decentralization--all have contributed to the existing situation.

Compensatory Education Programs

The New York City public schools have developed and continue to develop a myriad of special programs which reflect the Board of Education's efforts to help raise the level of all children's achievement. These programs include the following:

1. The Intellectually Gifted Children's Program: Enrichment programs for grades 4, 5, and 6. These were begun forty years ago. In 1963 there were 24,587 pupils in 730 classes at 239 elementary schools (out of approximately 900 elementary schools). Only special trained master teachers work in these programs.

2. "400 Schools": Schools for the extremely handicapped, For the most part these schools are in hospitals or convalescent homes.

3. CRMD: Classes for children with retarded mental development (IQs between 50 and 75).

4. Opportunity Classes: Classes of small size which give special attention to children who are "slow learners" (IQs between 75 and 90).

5. "600" Schools: Schools for emotionally unstable and antisocial children. There are about 44 such schools.

6. Special Progress Programs: Permit taking the three years of junior high school in two years; in effect since 1913.

7. Special Progress Enrichment: As the name implies, this program emphasizes "study in depth" rather than acceleration. In 1963, 26,000 pupils, or about 13 per cent of the total junior high school enrollment, were involved in Programs 6 or 7.

8. Special Service Schools: Schools for children in generally underprivileged areas. Eligibility for this designation is determined by an index which includes measures of pupil mobility, per cent of pupils receiving free lunches, number of teachers on permanent license, per cent of non-English-speaking pupils, and results of reading and IQ tests. In 1963-1964, 420,000 pupils in 225 elementary and 60 junior high schools were involved (about 45 per cent of the total enrollment). The schools received an estimated $49,000,000 in additional services--personnel, textbooks, etc.--to provide compensatory measures. The average expenditure was $117 more per pupil than the regular annual per-pupil allotment, resulting in smaller class size and additional personnel (attendance, guidance, psychologists, social workers, and secretaries).

9. After-School Study Centers: The most extensive of the special programs. In 1964-1965, 217 elementary and 77 junior high schools were involved. An average of 70,000 elementary and 27,000 junior high pupils participated.

10. High Horizon Program: Begun in 1956 as a demonstration project in educational motivation. In 1959 the program was expanded to include all pupils in each of the selected schools. In 1962-1963, 52 elementary, 13 junior high, and 11 high schools were involved, or a total of 64,075 students.

11. School Volunteers: Begun as a pilot project by the PEA in 1956 and incorporated into the system in 1962. The activities involve 500 volunteers whose role is to develop skills and offer broader cultural experience to pupils. The program involves 14 elementary schools, 3 junior highs, and one high school.

12. All-Day Neighborhood Schools: A program which (a) works with teachers in a team to improve curriculum and guidance; (b) offers group work programs from 3:00-5:00 p.m.;

(c) provides close cooperation with the homes and the community. Approximately 4,900 pupils (70 per cent Negro) are included.

13. More Effective Schools: The latest and most expensive effort, combining most of the other compensatory efforts. Ten schools were involved in 1964, 21 in 1965. The increase in supplementary services and equipment amounted to $422 per pupil in 1964-1965. The staff/student ratio is said to be 1:8. This is a saturation effort, including prekindergarten, lengthening of the school day, lower class size, use of teacher specialists, psychologists, guidance counselors, and the most skillful supervisors and teachers available.

In addition to the programs listed, others are focused at the junior and senior high school levels, including the Career Guidance Programs, School-to-Employment Program, Municipal Civil Service Cooperative Program, Job Education Project, Operation Return, Trade School Scholarship Program, Project Able, College Admission Program, and the College Discovery Program.

Most available evidence suggests that these programs have only a marginal effect on the classroom performance of students enrolled in disadvantaged schools. Two points of view--one parent-, the other teacher-oriented--have been articulated relentlessly in evaluating these programs. The first comes from a group of parents:

> All [children] were systematically destroyed by the deeply entrenched bureaucrats at 110 Livingston Street, individuals committed only to their own personal gain and their consolidation of power.
>
> They have willfully aided and abetted the educational genocide of 300 thousand Black students annually, without shame or remorse. This also reinforces their position by selling the propaganda that they alone are qualified, because of professional expertise, to even discuss the problem.[1]

The second is expressed by a spokesman for the African-American Teachers Association:

> None of these programs has proven successful educationally, but they have been successful in fooling our people into believing that he—[the devil] really cared

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[1] Harlem Parents' Committee, "Bundy Report Position and Recommendations," Views, no date.

> about our children's education. . . . When the devil's plan has failed, he often phases out the program and then it's on to another experimental project.[1]

Finally, Albert Shanker, president of the UFT, summarizes the reasons why compensatory education comes under heavy attack:

> First, it has been used in various parts of the country as a substitute for school integration. . . . There is a second reason. The concept of compensation brought with it an implication that somehow something was wrong with the child, not with the schools, teachers, or our educational institutions. . . . Third, the child is subjected to large classes, inadequately trained teachers and a poor curriculum. School systems try to undo the damage done during the school day after school hours, or in a summer school program, or an evening school. We put the child in a setting where he is likely to fail, and then attempt remediation, or to undo what we did to him in the first place.[2]

Most attitudinal surveys of parents, however, disagree with these negative views. In fact, both Negro and white parents hold very positive attitudes toward compensatory programs. In a survey of some 1,350 New York City white and minority parents, 80 per cent support these programs. Well over half (59 per cent) of the parents interviewed in three demonstration projects take a positive view of these programs, compared to only 17 per cent whose views are negative. Even in the Ocean Hill-Brownsville district, where the teacher spokesman quoted above is employed, 51 per cent of the parents favor these programs, compared to 20 per cent who are opposed. Support comes from all segments of Negro parents, those who are very cynical or very trusting, who have a high or a low sense of illegitimate sanctions, and who are either politically relevant or apolitical.

Nor have all the commentators accepted these charges of the inadequacies and irrelevancies of the compensatory programs. In fact, Alsop vigorously supports the More Effective Schools (MES) program in New York City, complaining that its potential has not been assessed or fully utilized. Rather, he complains:

> It is scandalous--it is indeed a bitter indictment of the large group in the American intellectual community that

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[1] Leslie Campbell, "The Devil Can Never Educate Us," _African-American Teachers Forum_, Vol. II, No. 4 (November, 1968), p. 3.

[2] Albert Shanker, What's Wrong with Compensatory Education," _Saturday Review_, January 11, 1969, p. 56.

> has concerned itself with the matter--that so few have been willing to face the distasteful, inescapable truth, which has been glaringly visible for years. The truth is that whatever else we may do, the problem of the ghetto schools must be mainly solved inside the ghetto schools, at any rate for a long time to come.[1]

The Debacle of Desegregation

Alsop's comments really are a condemnation of Federal Judge J. Skelly Wright's decision to desegregate the public schools of Washington, D. C. He decries the decision, "for it is always wicked to hold out false hopes and offer fake panaceas to those in desperate need of hope and help."[2] The nation's capitol, of course, not only provides one of the most tragic stories of desegregation of the public schools, it also offers a grim portent of what other cities may expect to experience. When desegregation was begun in Washington a decade ago, Superintendent of Schools Carl Hansen immoderately described the transition from a dual black-and-white school system as "a miracle of social adjustment."[3] Within that decade the miracle has become a nightmare. Now the schools have resegregated (93 per cent nonwhite students) as a result of the in-migration of Negroes into the city and a mass exodus of whites out of the District of Columbia.

Washington is not unique. The city simply serves as an advance model of what the future may hold for other large urban systems. The proportion of white students in New York City schools dropped below the halfway mark a few years ago and the system now is segregating faster than it can desegregate, despite all the policies, programs, and plans to achieve this goal. A simple measure of change in the numbers and proportions of segregated elementary schools shows a mixed trend. The number of predominantly Negro and Puerto Rican schools (those with 50 per cent or more enrollment) increased from 118 (15 per cent of all schools) in 1960 to 201 (23 per cent of all schools) in 1966. At the same time, the predominantly white schools decreased from 327 to 237, or from 42 to 31 per cent. The middle-range schools (between 10 and 90 per cent Negro-Puerto Rican) increased from 337 to 387, accounting for 43 per cent of all schools in 1960 and 46 per cent in 1966.

Efforts to desegregate or integrate the schools have met with a degree of frustration and nonimplementation that seriously questions the intent and ability of the public officials to exercise their authority other than to continue implicitly to accept a double legal standard.

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[1] Joseph Alsop, "No More Nonsense about Ghetto Education!" The New Republic, July 22, 1967), p. 20.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] Carl Hansen, *A Miracle of Social Adjustment* (New York: Anti-Defamation League, 1957).

The more general demand in New York City for community control of the schools arises out of a specific set of experiences, unfulfilled expectations, and frustrations involved in opening up a new intermediate school, IS 201, in East Harlem. High expectations of quality-integrated education developed among the parents living in the "triangle" characterized by the City Planning Commission as the most blighted in Manhattan. Although at first no specific plans were announced, eventually it became known that the educators intended to improve the quality of education with an exciting music and arts program and classes in typing. This was not acceptable to parents who were equally or more concerned with their children's abilities in reading, mathematics, science, and social studies.

As for the integration plans, the educators stated that the school would have 50 per cent Negro and 50 per cent Puerto Rican children. Of course, the Negro parents were indignant, for Puerto Rican youngsters were just as educationally disadvantaged as their own. Instead, they wanted to have white students bused into the Harlem school. The Board of Education tried to recruit white volunteers from the Bronx and Queens, but only a small number of parents responded. While they were impressed with the new physical plant, they

> . . . were distressed with the antagonistic attitudes which were known to exist between school officials and the Harlem community. Several of the white parents accused the school officials of not trying hard enough to bring about integration. On the other hand, they had heard about the possibility of violence occurring at the school in the fall. None enrolled his children.[1]

These developments only lengthened a list of grievances that had been accumulating since the school first was placed on the drafting board. The community felt it was ignored in the matter of site selection, for the school was located next to the commuter railroad. By the time the principal for the new school was selected, frustrations had increased to the point where the parents no longer wanted integration but demanded control of the school.

Administrative Decentralization

The controversy surrounding IS 201 hastened the effort to decentralize the New York City school system, a move that was counter to much of the city's educational history. The twentieth century has been marked by an effort to consolidate and develop a centralized school system, one more in accord with the consolidation and integration of Greater New York at the turn of the century.

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[1] Thomas K. Minter, Intermediate School 201 Manhattan: Center of Controversy (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Graduate School of Education, June, 1967), p. 16.

In the 1930s and 1940s the school system of New York City became increasingly centralized but it remained vulnerable to political pressure. The Board of Education was appointed by the Mayor, the local school boards by the Borough Presidents, and the budgets were subject to the scrutiny, predilections, and determination of the Board of Estimate, all of whose members belonged to the dominant political party.

Beginning about this time, however, a number of studies were made of the New York and other big city school systems.[1] Almost all cited the lack of responsiveness of a big system to individualized community needs. Most urged that authority should rest close to the point of major impact--the child. A number of studies found that the big systems with central control are less adaptive and innovative than smaller systems. Cillé's[2] 1940 study, comparing innovation and achievement in sixteen New York City schools and sixteen schools from smaller independent districts, illustrates the retarding effect of the lack of local authority. Other studies, including those by Hicks[3] of the New York City system and Westby[4] of several big city systems, indicated that potential for local control exists in the system but that local authorities (principals, local school boards, and so forth) are inhibited in its use.

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[1] New York State Education Department, Historical Review of Studies and Proposals Relative to Decentralization of Administration in the New York City Public School System (Albany, N. Y.: The State Education Department, Bureau of School and Cultural Research, 1967). This review briefly summarizes a number of these studies.

[2] F. S. Cillé, Centralization or Decentralization: A Study in Educational Adaptation (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1940).

[3] Alvin W. Hicks, A Plan to Accelerate the Process of Adaptation in a New York City School-Community (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1942). Hicks developed his hypo-

[4] Cleve O. Westby, Local Autonomy for School-Communities in Cities (New York: Metropolitan School Study Council, 1947). This is a discussion of administrative structure in a number of cities. See also, John Polley, Joseph Loretan, and Clara Blitzer, Community Action for Education: The Story of Bronx Park Community in New York City (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1953). This is a study of an experimental project with much local control. See also, Clara Blitzer and Mark C. Schinnerer, Recommendations Pertaining to the Organization of the City School District of the City of New York (Albany, N. Y.: State Education Department, 1961).

Consensus was growing among the outside analysts that however beneficial consolidation and centralization may appear, they do not solve the problems of urban education. In New York the mosaic of ethnic patterns and the kaleidoscope of changing socio-economic status make it difficult to meet varying educational needs if the city's school system is administered as a single unit with a uniform pattern of programs. According to the New York State Education Department:

> As in any large system, responsive control, the ideal of the democratic process, has not always existed in the New York City school system. As a consequence, there seems to be lacking a sensitivity on the part of the controlling agency, the Board of Education, to the needs of the constituent communities, the individual school districts. The large communities themselves are not as sensitive to their needs as are smaller, independent cities where the people are permitted a greater degree of participation.
>
> Changes in patterns of control in large city school systems at each stage have been made in response to some need, but these changes have not occurred gradually because of high degree of sensitivity to need. Rather, changes have resulted only when the need has become overwhelming.[1]

In 1961, as a result of a number of irregularities in school construction, instances of corruption, and growing administrative complexities, the school system was declared to be in a state of crisis. The State Legislature removed the members of the Board of Education and asked for a review of the system which resulted in a number of changes that formed the basis of the system as it existed at the time just prior to the developments in 1967. The Superintendent of Schools and his administrative staff prepared guidelines for the planned decentralization, stating as their purpose:

> Our system is, however, too large and too complex to receive the major part of its direction from any one center or any one source. The tremendous differences from district to district and, within districts, from school to school, add to the difficulties of conducting a centralized operation. In addition, the excessive centralization of authority may carry within itself the seeds of a monolithic power structure quite at variance with our concept of democracy.

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[1] New York State Education Department, op. cit., p. 29.

> It may be that our present structure can be modified to give greater value for every dollar spent, and to meet better the needs of our democratic society.
>
> There is need for decentralization, to the extent possible, of responsibility, of authority, and function. The primary purpose of these reports is to explore some avenues of possible decentralization, and to offer some suggestions. It must be clearly understood that these reports are intended to promote discussion, and not to advocate any final or official point of view.[1]

According to the revisions, the number of school districts, which in 1901 had been established at fifty-one, was reduced to twenty-four. Each district had a local school board which, by law, was advisory only.

The central Board of Education consisted of nine members appointed by the Mayor from a list submitted by an eleven-member selection panel representing universities, labor and business, and civic and education associations. Local school board members were appointed by the Board of Education fromlists submitted by district selection panels, half of which were parents, half representatives of local community organizations.

The Board of Education retained broad policy-making functions, but its executive staff was reduced. Executive authority fell almost entirely to the Superintendent of Schools, whose position was enhanced further by the abolition of the Board of Superintendents.

The arguments in the Guidelines to Decentralization were not sufficiently persuasive to secure implementation. In part, it is difficult for a large system that has been centralizing for decades to turn around and begin to decentralize. In part, from 1963 to 1965 the New York City school system was immersed in an intense controversy over desegregating the schools. The abrupt firing of Superintendent of Schools Calvin Gross in 1965 was publicly attributed to his failure to move ahead on decentralization.

However, the events which were to effect decentralization began to accelerate with the election of John Lindsay as Mayor in 1966. Lindsay believed the Mayor should play a strong role in the fiscally dependent school system, since he is the only elected public official who is responsible for the schools. Under his predecessor, Robert Wagner, the Temporary Commission on City Finance proposed a five-borough plan for decentralizing the city school system. The major purpose of this plan was to enhance the city's share of revenue under the state aid formula. The borough plan would leave overall coordinating and long-range planning as functions of the central Board of Education. As for the allocation of budgets and fiscal control, the city would dispense lump-sum appropriations to the boroughs according to a formula which reflected enrollment per grade and various handicap factors. Budget allocations within the boroughs would be decided by the borough's local school board. A proposed City Commissioner of Education would have available a large fund from which to award grants to boroughs or smaller units for experimental programs.

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[1] Board of Education of the City of New York, Guidelines to Decentralization (New York: November 8, 1961), p. 4. Writer's italics.

In matters of curriculum the city Board of Education would establish overall policies and minimum standards. The City Commissioner would carry on long-range research and provide technical assistance to the boroughs.

Coordination would be maintained by a citywide council composed of the borough superintendents and the City Commissioner of Education. The Board of Education would make broad policy for the public schools and, like the Board of Regents, might extend its jurisdiction to include private schools as well. The Board might also concern itself with higher education and provide a coordinating function between the schools and colleges.

The Legislature responded by commissioning the Mayor to prepare a comprehensive study and formulate a plan to create educational policy and administrative units within the system. The preamble of the legislative mandate recognized that "increased community awareness and participation in the educational process is essential to the furtherance of educational innovation and excellence."[1]

Governor Rockefeller hadnot signed the bill before the Board of Education published its own policy statement on decentralization, which would grant increased decision-making authority to the office of the district superintendents. According to the Board's plan, much of this new power could be exercised only after consultation with the local school boards. The consultative role would be exercised in the following areas: (1) appointments of district superintendents; (2) appointments of principals; (3) allotment of teacher positions to schools; (4) allocation and uses of teacher aides; (5) zoning; (6) expenditures of lump sums to be allocated to each district for maintenance and repairs, supplies and equipment, innovation and experimentation; (7) development of curriculum articulation between the various levels of the schools in the district; (8) community-education services.[2]

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[1] New York State Law, Chapter 484 of the Session Laws of 1967.

[2] Board of Education, City School District of the City of New York, Decentralization--Statement of Policy (New York: Board of Education, April 19, 1967).

The Role of the District Superintendent

In order for the district superintendent to play an effective role, he must maintain direct, personal contact with parents associations and others in the community. As to the appointments or transfers of principals, he is to discuss vacancies with the local school boards (LSBs) who, in turn, will acquaint the district superintendent with the special needs of the schools and the qualities of leadership required to fulfill those needs. The appointments of principals, however, will continue to be made in accordance with the legal requirements governing these positions. Thus:

1. The Office of Personnel will submit to the district superintendent three names, in order of seniority, of those serving as principals and who seek transfer to the particular school.

2. The Office of Personnel will submit to the district superintendent names of the eligible persons on the list for appointment. In the case of elementary school principals the choice must be made from the top three names on the list; junior or senior high school principals can be selected from the total list of qualified persons.

3. The district superintendent shall consider the recommendations of the LSB regarding those eligible for appointment. He will then make his recommendation to the Superintendent of Schools, who will make the appointment.

4. The district superintendent and the LSB jointly will set up procedures for their discussions with regard to the appointments of principals.

5. Under exceptional circumstances and after consultation with the LSB, the district superintendent may appeal directly to the Superintendent of Schools for special consideration of a qualified appointee.

6. Assignment or transfer of principals into a district will be the responsibility of the district superintendent after consultation with the LSB and with the approval of the Superintendent of Schools.

As for the appointment and transfer of teachers, the initial assignment of teachers shall be to a district rather than to a specific school. The district superintendent will be furnished a profile of each assignee to facilitate placement. The allotment of positions to individual schools will be made by the district superintendent after consultation with the LSB and with due regard for the needs of schools as described by the principal. Allotment of positions to the different schools will be based on a formula developed by the Office of Personnel under the supervision of the Superintendent of Schools. The training of teachers and pedagogical supervisors will proceed according to the following considerations:

1. Training shall be the responsibility of the principal, directed by the district superintendent. The district superintendent should be allotted a budget for a training program with authority to plan and implement citywide salary and time regulations.

2. The district superintendent will review the release of teachers and supervisors for assignment to headquarters.

3. The district superintendent can reassign personnel within his district, including teachers and supervisors.

With regard to the budget, the district superintendent will receive a lump sum from the Superintendent of Schools to cover: (1) maintenance, repairs, and painting; (2) books, supplies, materials, movable equipment; and (3) innovation and experimentation. These funds will be expended by the district superintendent after consultation with the local school board. Also, after consultation with the local school board, the district superintendent will review and revise projected yearly allotments to schools before these allocations are determined. The district superintendent can reallocate unused funds to other schools.

On the matter of books and supplies, the district superintendent will consult with the headquarters staff and draw up a formula for allocation of funds to districts for books and supplies. Allotments to individual schools will be based on a per capita sum allotted to each school and made by district superintendents after consultation with the local school boards about the needs of each school. Individual schools will purchase books and supplies directly and make direct payment for repairs to office and educational equipment, not to exceed $50.

The central office will be responsible for developing basic curricula and courses of study on a citywide basis. The district superintendent may adapt curricula to suit the needs of the area and experiment with new methods and materials. After consultation with the local school board, he will be responsible for developing curriculum articulation among the various levels of the schools in the district. The district superintendent and principals shall interpret the curriculum to the local school boards, the parents, and the community. At the same time, the district superintendent shall continue the practice of establishing a direct line to universities for the development of special materials and methods.

With regard to zoning, the district superintendent shall propose zoning changes within the district after consulting with the local school board and then report these to the Central Zoning Unit. He will continue to consult with representatives of parents affected by rezoning proposals. However, final authority with regard to zoning rests with the Superintendent of Schools.

The Role of the Local School Boards

The following qualifications have been established for members of the local school boards:

1. They must reflect the views of the community.

2. They must be democratically selected from the community.

3. They must be knowledgeable about the community and dedicated to education and the educational needs of the area.

4. They must maintain informal contacts with the community and also hold public hearings to listen to complaints from parents, citizens, and community groups.

5. They must establish contacts, maintain liaison, and work with the agencies in the areas concerned with education, such as parent associations, civil rights groups, social welfare agencies, and so forth.

The LSB shall consult with the district superintendent in all matters discussed above. They shall consult with the Superintendent of Schools regarding vacancies in the office of district superintendent. However, the appointment or transfer of the district superintendents shall reside finally with the Superintendent of Schools.

Finally, the LSB shall hold budget hearings. Those hearings that deal with expenses shall be held by October 1, so that their recommendations may be available to the Superintendent of Schools and the Board of Education when they draft the citywide budget. Those hearings that deal with capital budget shall be held prior to consultation between the Office of School Planning and the district superintendent in December. The local school boards shall make their recommendations prior to drafting of the budget.

The most important aspect of the new policy was the announced intention to establish several demonstration projects involving greater community participation. The Board of Education listed some of the possibilities:

1. The division of a current school district into two smaller districts each with its own local school board and district superintendent.

2. The setting up, within a school board area, of a small grouping of schools, possibly including a high school, feeder intermediate and primary schools.

3. A demonstration district of a small size to involve representatives of the community, parents, and staff more

effectively in the conduct of school programs as well as in new approaches to teacher training and in curriculum development.

4. Several demonstrations in single schools probing parental and community involvement in a school's program, such as the strengthening of early childhood education or the improvement of instruction in the fundamentals.[1]

For the most part these districts would be smaller than the normal school district and would conform to the standardized guidelines, although they are encouraged to use different patterns of organizational and administrative arrangements. The goal is to develop teacher training and ways to increase parental participation in order to strengthen the educational program.

Conclusion

Three demonstration projects were authorized. Their evolution, experiences, and search for power are the central focus of this study. It should be noted, however, that they also play a role in a larger struggle to transform urban education. The stakes are high, not only for the students but also for the major contenders--the parents and professional educators. The contenders have taken their case to the general public and to public officials in City Hall, to the Board of Education, and to the legislative chambers. The contenders have developed and are using a wide range of strategic and tactical moves, such as strikes, boycotts, demonstrations, and lobbying activities, to ensure that their interests will prevail. As a UFT field representative in one demonstration project suggests, we are:

> . . . at a time when the struggle for equality, despite a decade of glory, has failed to heal racial divison; when, especially among youth in the ghetto, there is an angry and bitter retreat into separatism. Many liberals, weary and disoriented, are willing to settle for "separate but equal" and grasp thankfully at the opportunity to cloak this retrogression in the militant-sounding rhetoric of black power. In the name of reform, private enterprise is offered as a greater healer of social and economic ills than the public sector. The "competitive spirit" is regarded as more constructive than alliances, for in the face of failure and resulting anger, competition is easier, less complicated, than cooperation.

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[1] Board of Education of the City of New York, op. cit., p. 5.

[2] Sandra Feldman, Decentralization and the City Schools, Looking Forward, No. 12 (New York: League for Industrial Democracy, no date).

CHAPTER II

FROM ADMINISTRATIVE DECENTRALIZATION TO COMMUNITY CONTROL: THE CASES OF IS 201 AND TWO BRIDGES

Introduction

There is an almost universal belief that the public school systems of large cities, certainly that of New York, should be decentralized as a means to increase community involvement. There is general agreement with Mark Shedd, Superintendent of Schools in Philadelphia, who points to two major reasons for what he calls "the massive failure of big city school systems." These reasons are:

> 1. The sheer mass of urban systems has created bureaucracies which convert instructional tradition, educational cliches and general pedagogical inertia into a stifling philosophical and procedural rigidity.
>
> 2. The pupils of urban systems, particularly low-income pupils (white and Negro), are unable or unwilling to conform to our commonplace and usually complacent notions of what children and/or schools should be. The results case in bold relief the irrelevance of so much of the school experience to the basic concerns and needs of children and young people.[1]

Ideas of what should be done to remedy these conditions vary to the point that now New York City has polarized into two schools of thought. One suggested method is the administrative decentralization discussed in Chapter I and supported by much of the educational establishment. The second is the quest for community control enunciated by the leaders of the three demonstration projects and their supporters. This approach is discussed in the present chapter. Most of the action stemming from community control has occurred in and around the three demonstration projects established or recognized by the Board of Education.

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[1] Mark R. Shedd, "Decentralization and Urban Schools," Educational Leadership (October, 1967), p. 32.

Although the general public tends to consider the three demonstration projects as identical--having similar origins, objectives, leadership patterns, and general dynamics--it should be made quite clear that probably there are more differences among them than aspects in common. All, of course, are designated by the title Demonstration Project; all seem to be working roughly on the same grant of authority from the Board of Education. That is, they have in common a limited grant of authority and a set of procedures by which to operate. However, each has preferred to challenge the intent and meaning of this grant of authority in its own way. In addition, Chapter IV points out that while the three areas do have some similarities in the social backgrounds of the parents, at most they can only be characterized as three disadvantaged areas. Beyond this broad identification there are significant differences among them which became important in determining a set of events which occurred after their inception. The discussion in this chapter and the next illustrates briefly the comparative experiences of each of the three projects, even though they have joined on occasion to request or demand that additional authority be granted to them to formulate their own educational programs.

The three demonstration projects, operating at first with somewhat undefined authorization granted from time to time by the Board of Education, have existed in New York City since school opened in the fall of 1967. One project in East Harlem is known as the IS 201 Demonstration project and consists of Intermediate School 201 and its four feeder elementary schools. The second, on the Lower East Side of Manhattan, is known as the Two Bridges Demonstration Project and consists of Junior High School 65 and its four elementary feeder schools. The third, in the Brownsville section of Brooklyn, is known as the Ocean Hill-Brownsville Demonstration Project and consists of Junior High School 271, Intermediate School 55, and their six elementary feeder schools.

All three districts have in common the fact that they are located in disadvantaged areas or neighborhoods. Much of the housing in these areas is dilapidated and deteriorating, especially in the IS 201 district, where half to two-thirds of the population live in unsound dwelling units. The educational level of parents in these three areas is somewhat lower than for the city as a whole. The residents are predominantly Negro, except for the Two Bridges area, where there is a balance of whites, Negroes, and Puerto Ricans, with enclaves of Chinese.

Rhody McCoy, project administrator for Ocean Hill-Brownsville, describes his area as having the problems of the "invisible" people. His description is appropriate for the other two areas as well:

> In Ocean Hill-Brownsville there are people groping in the dark, who for a long time have felt themselves outside the mainstream of public concern. The city takes no notice of them. In the midst of a crowd or wherever

> groups of people assemble or pass, these people are obscure, unnotices, as though they do not exist. They are not censured or reproached; they simply are not seen. They are the invisible residents of a demoralized, poverty-ridden, inner city. To be ignored or overlooked is a denial of one's rights to dignity, respect and membership in the human race. These residents have been frustrated at every turn in their attempt to reverse the process.[1]

Most important is the fact that the three areas are "educationally depressed." Again McCoy describes the educational conditions he must work with:

> With increasingly poor academic performance of the pupils attending our schools, with all the schools having student reading levels at least twoyears below city grade norms, there exists the continuous production of imageless children who take no special interest or pride in school achievement. This manifests itself in the increasing drop-out rate even at the Junior High School level. The physical plants are for the most part unfit to house students, let alone to permit teachers to perform in an effective manner. Many have been condemned only to be subsequently reactivated. The alarming turnover in staff, coupled with high pupil mobility and the aforementioned conditions, result in minimal qualitative learning.[2]

We will review the past two years' experience of these three projects in order to discern the patterns of shifting demands and responses, carefully delineating the phases or stages of decision-making they have gone through, which are: (1) planning, (2) election process, (3) early operational experiences, (4) search for legitimization. This chapter narrates the experience of the IS 201 and Two Bridges projects. The next chapter discusses the confrontation in the Ocean Hill-Brownsville project area.

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[1] Rhody A. McCoy, "The Year of the Dragon," paper presented at the conference on Educational Sub-Systems, Harvard University Graduate School of Education, January 24-26, p. 1.

[2] *Ibid*.

The IS 201 Demonstration Project

The Planning Phase

District IS 201 was the first area to articulate the need or desire to control its own local schools.[1] This demand was an outgrowth of the commitments made by the Board of Education in September, 1966, to provide a model school located inthe heart of East Harlem. The Board stated thatone of its objectives was an integrated schoolhouse. Integration was to be achieved on the basis of voluntary assignment of children of white parents from the Bronx and Queens. However, when no white parents chose to send their children to this ghetto school, the local community rebelled and took to the streets, saying that if the Board of Education did not meet its commitments, then it was time for "community participation." A boycott of the school was conducted and a long list of grievances presented, including choice of the site, the name of the school, and the appointment of the principal. The first principal selected asked for reassignment, as did the second, Stanley Lisser, who, however, was persuaded by the Superintendent of Schools to remain at his post despite serious opposition in the community. Lisser was considered an innovative educator. Nevertheless, he became a symbol for the display of dissatisfaction by parents and community leaders of varying persuasions, including Stokely Carmichael and H. Rap Brown, who at that time were gaining considerable national attention as advocates of black power. On the local scene black power was translated to mean complete control over the black community's institutional life--in this case, the schools were most vulnerable. The boycott lasted long enough to generate substantial community controversy, bringing into play many efforts to mediate and many proposals to ameliorate the controversy. The late Senator Robert Kennedy, State Education Commissioner James Allen, Mayor John Lindsay, State Regent Kenneth Clark, as well as others, were involved in consultations which sought appropriate ways to resolve the issue.

The Board of Education agreed to the following principles:

1. The 201 Board will have authority in an advisory capacity to develop and submit to the Superintendent and the Board of Education for appropriate action a broad range of programs for I.S. 201 and the feeder schools. These programs are discussed below.

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[1] Thomas Minter, Intermediate School 201, Manhattan: Center of Controversy (Cambridge, Mass.: Hatvard University Graduate School of Education, 1967). Minter gives a detailed case history of this easly period.

2. Parent and community representatives should constitute the majority of the 201 Board. In order to promote an effective interchange of knowledge and experience, appropriate teacher and supervisory representation should be involved in the shaping of its programs.

3. The parent and community representatives should be democratically chosen. Parents, for example, could be elected by the parents in each school. Community representatives could be chosen by delegates elected by citizens in the area, along the lines of the elections which have been successfully held for Neighborhood Boards under the anti-poverty program. Community leadership should determine the exact process. The Board of Education stands ready to lend its facilities and give such other help as may be requested.

4. With the Board of Education's assistance, the 201 Board should arrange with a university or universities of its own choice for professional services to be rendered to the 201 Board in aid of its various functions. The Board of Education believes that it would be more appropriate, and produce better educational results, for universities to render these services to the 201 Board, than to have voting membership on it.[1]

After many discussions the local leaders thought they had reached an ironclad agreement with the Board of Education, granting two specific permissions: (1) that a "male, Black or Puerto Rican Principal who was acceptable to both the Board and the Community would replace the present principal"[2]; (2) that a "Governing Board of parents and community members would be elected to govern the school, jointly with the Board of Education."[3] However, the agreement was not implemented during the 1966 academic year.

Perhaps the most significant proposal to come out of this set of consultations was that leading universities in the area--Teachers College, Yeshiva University, Columbia University, and others--would assume a kind of guardianship or operational responsibility for the educational programming of the school. This proposal was strongly endorsed by Kenneth Clark and generally supported by Mayor Lindsay, but it was never consummated, for the local community thought the measure would simply introduce another white-dominated institution as supervisor and frustrate their efforts to achieve formal local control. By April, 1967, however, after meeting with the IS 201 Planning Board, university professors, and representatives from the UFT and the Ford Foundation, agreement was reached to establish an experimental complex with a governing board.

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[1] Board of Education of the City of New York, "Proposals for Improving Education in Schools in Disadvantaged Areas," news release, October 20, 1966.

[2] IS 201 Planning Board, "A Brief History of the IS 201 Story," no date.

[3] *Ibid.*

It is important to note here that the CSA and the UFT persuaded Lisser to return to his post (they picketed the school to express their objection to the use of racial requirements in selecting school personnel), for it was an important shift for the administrators and the union to take such a strong stand on a non-bread-and-butter issue. This was the seed for what was to become a long period of political confrontation between the local community and the professional educators. Nevertheless, following the initial confrontation over Lisser, the UFT and the CSA participated in working out an agreement between the professional staff and the local community to participate on a planning board which would try to discover the way to bring about more parent involvement in the schools. In fact, the thirty-six-member planning board was comprised of four parents and two teachers from each of the five schools in the complex plus five community representatives and one member of the supervisory staff. The UFT, at this time a leading advocate of the 201 project, proceeded on the assumption that the schools would be designated MES or enrichment schools (meaning that substantial funds--millions of dollars--would be made available to the project for improving the educational environment).

In June, 1967, the planning council received a Ford Foundation planning grant of $51,000. The council retained a project administrator, but he left within a few weeks. The early phase of the planning period was marked by a constant struggle between various community factions. Even though the planning process itself involved parents, teachers, and community leaders, community activists appeared to be most influential in this phase. These activists were primarily poverty workers or ex-poverty workers associated with Massive Economic Neighborhood Development (MEND).

The initial proposal for IS 201, prepared in the spring of 1967, was entitled "Academic Excellence: Community and Teachers Assume Responsibility for the Education of the Ghetto Child." The preamble read as follows:

> The civil rights movement and the nation's anti-poverty efforts have focused attention upon the ghetto school. The children who attend these schools are several years behind middle class children in academic achievement. These children will tend not to obtain the education and skills necessary to advance themselves economically. They will be forced to take whatever semi-skilled and unskilled work is available. Many will be on welfare rolls. Barring some major changes in

> the educational system, their children will attend similar schools, be behind in academic achievement, and eventually obtain the less desirable types of jobs and live in impoverished areas of the city where social pathology indices such as crime, infant mortality, and deteriorated housing are the highest.
>
> Teachers are at one with the parents of the city's school children in their concern with lack of achievement and reading retardation in the schools. As long as those who are closest to the needs of the children--their parents and their teachers--are left out of the decision making in the educational process, the schools cannot succeed.
>
> Given present problems, the school system cannot continue as an autonomous bureaucracy. Parents and community leaders must fulfill their right to exercise influence in educational policy. This alone, however, will not suffice to cure the system's ills. The role of the teacher must also change. At present he has no freedom in his work. He is restrained by a hierarchy, rising above him in increasing influence and decreasing understanding of classroom problems. In order to work to the full capacity of his training and ability, the teacher must be permitted to exercise the rights which his professionalism entails: He must be allowed to take responsibility for exercising independent action and making expert judgment while performing his work.
>
> Teachers, like parents and the community, play an essential and irreplaceable role in the learning life of each child. The schools should be the mutual responsibility of these groups--a responsibility to be shared equally. Without this equal sharing of responsibility there can be no true accountability for learning progress.[1]

According to this plan a local community board, after undergoing a training program and in consultation with representatives of a university and other experts, would assume the responsibility for selecting an administrator, setting educational goals and standards, recruiting and selecting a staff, determining curriculum changes, determining policy toward public and private agencies, maintaining fiscal control, and contracting for an independent evaluation of its performance and accomplishments.

The proposal, however, overlooked or was unclear on a number of important considerations involving the transfer of authority to a local project board. These points were as follows:

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[1] Harry Gottesfeld and Sol Gordon, "Academic Excellence: Community and Teachers Assume Responsibility for the Education of the Ghetto Child" (New York: Yeshiva University, no date).

1. How were the members to be chosen?

2. What were the plans to train members of the project board?

3. What would be the particular criteria and procedures for selecting the project administrator? Would state and city standards be used?

4. Were present methods and personnel to be ignored in setting educational goals and standards?

5. Was it realistic to expect to recruit a teaching staff on a completely voluntary basis? What would happen if this method failed to provide a full complement of staff?

6. Would all current methods of reviewing teachers' performance be abandoned?

7. The procedures suggested for selecting teachers were ambiuous. Would the project administrator interview, assess, and then propose the applicant to the local project board, or would the LPB initiate the process?

8. Should the principal be selected after consultation with teachers and parents, but with final appointment by the project administrator with the approval of the local project board?

9. Would there be citywide standards and goals for curricula to ensure that the student who moves about the city can do so without serious problems?

10. Should budgetary control mechanisms (auditing) be a central function?

During the summer of 1967 there was little communication between the IS 201 planning council and the Board of Education beyond the initial statement, which was the basis upon which the Ford grant was awarded. Council members seldom appeared at the Board of Education to discuss their progress or their specific problems with Superintendent Donovan. Occasionally, however, they expressed their desire to formulate a more comprehensive approach to education, i.e., to find the means to ensure community control over all youth-serving activities in the local area. In October their proposal, which essentially reproduced the Ocean Hill proposal, was submitted under the guidance of planning consultant Berlin Kelly, a trained social worker formerly with MEND, who, however, acknowledged his lack of familiarity with the New York City school system and its inner workings.

A second planning consultant, Herman Ferguson, was an influential member of the planning council. Ferguson, an assistant principal, was suspended by the Board of Education in the spring of 1967, pending charges of an alleged plot to assassinate civil rights leaders Whitney Young and Roy Wilkins during the preceding summer. (At the present writing he has been convicted of the charges and the case is being appealed.) Ferguson was first a consultant in the Ocean Hill-Brownsville Demonstration Project, where he played such a prominent role as assistant to Rhody McCoy that the teaching faculty and supervisory complained sharply. In concert with Spencer and Kelly, Ferguson attempted to unify the deep-seated divisions and many factions within the IS 201 Planning Council and mobilize their energies to take a concerted position.

There were, of course, growing anxieties and even tensions between the UFT representatives and the parent representatives on the planning council, but a really serious rift developed between parents and teachers during the strike in September, 1967. Part of the union's demands was to secure additional More Effective Schools as well as to retain the twenty MES schools then in existence, since these were about to be abandoned. The union reiterated that the demonstration projects should consist of MES schools and it asked the local community to support union members in the strike.

The local community, however, perceived the strike in quite different terms, on the one hand as a traditional move by the union to increase salaries, and on the other as a deprivation of the children, denying them access to schools and education for a number of days. There was considerable disruption when the strike was over and the teachers returned to school.

The council's task initially was simply to develop the constitutional or legal base upon which to establish a local project board to run the schools; it had no official authority. The LPB was scheduled to be established for the February term of that school year. Despite this lack of authority, when the strike was over and the teachers returned to school, representatives of the planning council set up a highly informal "screening" process through which the teachers were expected to proceed. The LPB representatives, including their consultant, Herman Ferguson, called the teachers into a committee room one by one and conducted general and specific inquiries about their attitudes not only toward the immediate strike but also toward the children, the project, the potential for decentralization, community control, and the like. Some teachers characterized this screening process as a "kangaroo court." Despite an order from the local district superintendent, who still retained immediate jurisdiction and supervision over the school, the review continued for a few days, ending only when Nathan Brown, Deputy Superintendent of Schools, ordered that there must be no screening of teachers upon their return. Finally, when the teachers refused to undergo the screening, the order was accepted by the local community. There were some later attempts to review the attitudes of the teaching staff, but the process generally collapsed.

From this experience the planning board learned that it still lacked the necessary authority to control the schools. It then proceeded to engage in a training process of workshops for parents and others who were to be prospective candidates for election to the local project board. (The election was scheduled for December, 1967). The planning board also spent time and effort to spell out the constitutional form of its project and the delegation of authority that it believed should be granted by the Board of Education.

The local community had begun to explore the need for a basic redistribution of power in running its schools. Preston Wilcox, Professor of Social Work at Columbia University and active in the planning phase, outlined the general objectives for the "community-centered school":

> The community-centered school differs from the traditional public school in that it deliberately shares power with the community it serves. It attempts to define and identify those powers which belong exclusively to the local community, those which belong exclusively to the professionals and those which should be shared. As a case in point, the community might have the ultimate decision in selecting the principal. The community ought to be able to discern those intangible qualitiessuch as psychological stance, personal qualities and commitment to uphold local community interests. The evaluation of teacher and staff performance might be shared with the community. The responsibility for implementation of the educational goals can rest solely with the professional.
>
> The latent function ofthis model is to build into the local community the skill and competence to develop and establish educational policy and to acquire the skills to measure the effectiveness of the educational program. On the other side of the coin is the opportunity it affords the staff to learn of the community's interests and goals and how to help it to acquire the means to achieve them.[1]

Another Negro scholar disagreed, however, saying, "Wilcox seems to be confusing the right to operate an educational enterprise with the capacity to do so."[2]

Nevertheless, the black community now was on the move, forming a coalition of black parents and teachers to demand control of their schools. At a black caucus during a meeting of the National Association of Afro-American Educators held in Chicago in June, 1968, the following resolution was adopted:

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[1] Preston Wilcox, "The School and Community," unpublished paper, May 5, 1967.

[2] Joe L. Rempson, "For an Elected Local School Board," The Urban Review (November, 1966), p. 4.

Whereas, the educational systems of this nation have criminally failed the Black youth of this country.

Whereas, the Black parents have not had a voice in determining the educational destiny of their youth.

Whereas, the Black youth and Black parents are demanding relevant education to meet their needs.

Therefore, be it resolved that we encourage, support and work to organize local communities to control their own schools through local or neighborhood school boards and further that this organization go on record to immediately implement such plans.

The goal of the National Association of Afro-American Educators should be Black control of the Black Community schools.[1]

The Election Process

During the planning period the IS 201 Planning Council set up a formal series of training workshops for all residents who wished to be considered as prospective candidates for the project board. Ten sessions were held at which Preston Wilcox and other speakers were brought in. An early prerequisite for candidacy was that a person must have attended all ten workshops. Later this was revised to require attendance at six workshops. On the final night of the nominating period, however, nominations were received from the floor. Although there was a last-minute problem in establishing a working relationship with the Honest Ballot Association (HBA), which contracted with the planning council and was paid by the Board of Education to supervise the election, the HBA supervised the actual election process and certified that there was no evidence of wrongdoing or coercion in the election.

The election results indicated that nearly a quarter of the parents voted, as did half the teachers and two-thirds of the supervisory staff. The parent turnout varied among the schools, ranging from a high of 46.4 per cent in PS 133 to a low of 9.1 per cent in PS 68 (see Table II.1).

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[1] From notes of discussion and reports of workshops of National Association of Afro-American Educators (Chicago, Illinois, 1968). (Mimeographed.) Reprinted in Charles V. Hamilton, "Race and Education: A Search for Legitimacy," Harvard Educational Review, Vol. 38, No. 4 (Fall, 1968), p. 676.

TABLE II.1

ELECTION RETURNS, IS 201 PROJECT BOARD NOVEMBER, 1967 [1]

School	Number Eligible Voters	Number Actual Votes	Per Cent
IS 201*			
Teachers	89	64	71.9
Parents			
Supervisors			
PS 133			
Teachers	40	32	80.0
Parents	362	168	46.4
Supervisors	2	2	100.0
PS 39			
Teachers	42	14	33.3
Parents (mothers)**	277	46	16.6
Supervisors			
PS 24			
Teachers	38	20	52.6
Parents	327	125	38.2
Supervisors	3	2	66.7
PS 68			
Teachers	71	20	28.2
Parents	845	77	9.1
Supervisors	4	2	50.0
Total			
Teachers	280	50	53.6
Parents (elementary schools)	1,811	416	23.0
Supervisors	9	6	66.7

*No list was available for this analysis
**The analysis of PS 39 votes is based on a list of mothers only

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[1] These statistics were compiled and made available by the Honest Ballot Association.

Many bitter disagreements and chaotic disputes arose during the nominating process, as well as an actual boycott of parents in one school on election day. Some parents complained that they were not informed about the proposed means to achieve community control of the schools or about the actual election procedures. There were charges of coercion by the UFT and countercharges by the planning council. Both were addressed to the State Commissioner of Education, who set up a commission to investigate the conditions in all three demonstration projects. Although this commission did not make a public report, it used the opportunity to appraise the experiences of the demonstration projects in light of impending legislative proposals to decentralize the New York City school system.

The Early Operational Experience

The transition from the planning to the operational phase of the IS 201 Demonstration Project was extremely ambiguous. It was not clear who had been in charge of the five public schools in the cluster since the formal election in November, 1967.

Not until February, 1968, was a name formally proposed for project administrator to theBoard of Education and the State Commissioner. The credentials of the Negro applicant, Charles Wilson, fell short of the specific requirements established for state certification. In spite of this fact, on March 27, 1968, the Board of Education approved Wilson's appointment, overcoming legal obstacles by naming him consultant to the IS 201 complex. A number of parent leaders from the project complained to the Board of Education at the time of Wilson's appointment that the IS 201 project board had excluded parents from participating in project activities.

Prior to Wilson's appointment, however, no professional staff other than consultants had assumed formal responsibility for this project. In fact, members of the local project board learned through rumor, rather than by direct communication from either the district superintendent or the Board of Education, that the entire supervisory staff of IS 201 would leave at the beginning of the second semester. The principal went on sick leave and the two assistant principals left their posts to attend a special program to upgrade minority supervisory personnel at Fordham University. The local project board moved immediately to announce the appointment of Ronald Evans, a teacher in PS 145, as principal. Evans lacked full credentials for state certification as principal; nevertheless, the Board of Education decided to accept the recommendation of the project board and on March 20, 1968, the Superintendent of Schools appointed him.

Moreover, since the LPB had no project administrator until March 27, it did not receive funds from the Board of Education for operating its central office. Thus, the LPB had to rely on the Ford Foundation planning grant and supplementary grants to pay consultants and the office staff. On one occasion, when the telephones were disconnected in the district office, the staff had to rely in part on the nearby office facilities of Bank Street College's Educational Resource Center to carry on its work.

As of March 8, 1968, the LPB released the consultants. This action stemmed from the controversy created by the Malcolm X Memorial Day program of February 21, 1968, especially the statement by consultant Herman Ferguson, who told the audience of students, "Let's be ready to die. If they kill us blacks, who are outnumbered, take some of them with you. The kinds of death they have planned for us will be quick. The pain won't last long."[1] He was referring to an article in Esquire, showing new equipment that the police in large cities throughout the country were using to deal with riots.

The second semester began with a lack of supervisory personnel in IS 201 itself. Amid the publicity of talks on violence and chaotic conditions, District Superintendent Martin Frey moved his district office temporarily into the building and assumed supervision of the school. As a result of the trouble which arose over the program honoring Malcolm X, the Board of Education reestablished complete authority over the school. This authority was relinquished, however, upon the appointment of Wilson as project administrator and Evans as acting principal of IS 201.

This transfer of authority created other operational problems for the project administrator. As an indication of the Board of Education's support of the demonstration project, but apparently without consulting Wilson, on March 28 District Superintendent Frey notified the principals of the five schools in the project that they no longer were responsible to him but should now report to the project administrator. Wilson, however, lacking a staff to make his office truly operational, responded that the "announcement was both unfortunate and premature . . . you have pictured the completion of the transition period as if it had been accomplished rather than just beginning." Wilson believed that operating responsibility could not be meaningful without first establishing in his project office a staff parallel to the one in the district office.

Following this incident a series of meetings were held between the project administrator, the district superintendent, and the superintendent's liaison officer. These meetings resulted in a timetable and a system of priorities designed to achieve a smooth and meaningful transition of operational power.

The Search for Legitimization

Uncertain as to who had operational authority to determine educational change and outcomes, the three projects tried to clarify and expand their powers as they moved toward legitimacy. They focused much of their effort on the specific grants of authority delegated to them by the Board of Education, the State Board of Regents, and the State Legislature. This was especially true in the confrontation in Ocean Hill-Brownsville, where the leaders struggled to become the duly constituted authority among the parents in the local subcommunity. As Hamilton suggests: "Black people are questioning, evaluating the legitimacy of existing educational institutions, not simply searching for ways to make those institutions more effective."[1]

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[1] Amsterdam News, March 21, 1967.

The IS 201 Planning Council was the last of the three projects to submit its preliminary proposal. This it did in October, 1967, but little discussion with the representatives from the Board of Education preceded the submission. The proposal proved almost identical to that of Ocean Hill-Brownsville (which will be discussed in the next chapter).

Following the election of members in December, 1967, the local project board itself did not submit a formal proposal to the Board of Education until February 2, 1968. The chief planning consultant and acting chairman of the planning board discussed 201's own suggested guidelines with representatives of the Board of Education. Three spokesmen for the 201 planning board raised several points: (1) that the terms of office of the LPB members should be for a fixed period of three years, with service terminating on a staggered basis; (2) that the integrity of the demonstration project should be maintained, regardless of the proposals for decentralization pending before the State Legislature; (3) that if the design for evaluation should include a base year for purposes of comparing student achievement, then the IS 201 LPB should participate in designating that year; and (4) that the selection of an evaluator be mutually agreed upon and an equal amount of money be allocated to the second- and third-year evaluations (in the second year the money would be allocated by the Board of Education to the LPB so that the latter might engage in self-evaluation; in the third year there would be a joint evaluation).

On March 1, 1968, the local project board met with the Board of Education to discuss the proposal and its conformance to the guidelines. Earlier the Board of Education had raised several points for discussion: (1) provision for a fixed term in office for LPB members; (2) deposit of all monies in a bank or banks designated by the LPB (however, the Board of Education does not receive actual cash and therefore could not comply with this request); (3) application for federal and state funds (this must occur within the framework of existing laws); (4) contracting directly, in order to give as much flexibility as possible (however, direct contracting involves problems relating to other city departments and administrative procedures); (5) reservation of the right to expand power (the demonstration project must remain within the schools in the present complex); (6) a statement indicating the local project board's acceptance of the Board of Education's guidelines.

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[1] Charles Hamilton, op. cit., p. 684.

As for maintaining the integrity of the project, the Board of Education stated that only under a specific legislative mandate would it violate its commitments to the project. In such a case it would publicly "oppose" any effort to destroy the existing boundaries of the demonstration project.

It should be pointed out that the LPB of IS 201 was particularly concerned with the design for evaluation and the period when the demonstration project was considered to have been initiated. The Board of Education believed the project should run for three years and referred to September, 1967, as the start of the first year. The LPB insisted that September, 1968, should be designated as the official commencement date of the porject and that the project should run for five years or more.

During the spring of 1968 the LPB representatives received technical assistance from the Board of Education on such matters as program planning and the budgetary process, school organization in the district, and anticipated budgetary allocations on which to plan their allotments. The project administrator established relationships with representatives of the Board of Education in order to anticipate problems before they arose. He attempted to prepare the way for a smooth transition of power in which working relationships already would be established with the professional and administrative staff in the complex.

Of course, this project was affected by the strike and resulting settlement in the fall of 1968. Its teachers remained at their posts during the strike and therefore project officials rejected the stipulation about making up lost classroom time by adding extra days to the school calendar. Nine UFT teachers in one school in the project, PS 39, receiving two sets of instructions for the day after Thanksgiving, decided to obey those issued by the Superintendent of Schools to report to the schools rather than by the local project administrator who ordered the schools closed. The nine teachers subsequently were discharged by the project administrator. The local project board and the parents tried unsuccessfully to prevent the teachers from entering the school. They then ordered a boycott of the school, and the teachers since then have been reporting to their classrooms and finding no children to teach. There were major confrontations at the schoolhouse door and local demonstrators have been arrested. The boycott continues at this writing, but its effectiveness gradually has been diminishing.

The experience of PS 39 was part of a larger strategy carried out by a group of people called by the Council of Supervisory Associations the "flying circus." These "disrupters" move from school to school throughout the city, challenging supervisors and teachers in their positions, trying to remove them, generally creating a kind of guerilla warfare against the UFT, the CSA, and their members. The Israelson Committee, appointed by the State Commissioner of Education, has designated hearing officers to review not only the situation at PS 39 but similar outbreaks of wide-ranging demonstrations throughout the city by what is considered to be a relatively small but well organized group of persons. (Over 500 complaints have been processed; the activities of this small group have been effective enough so that the District 1 school board on the Lower East Side of Manhattan has been suspended for its inability to withstand the pressures of the "flying circus" and to maintain orderly conduct of the board meetings as well as the educational process in the schools.)

In the case of IS 201, the Israelson Committee recommended to the Board of Education that the project administrator, Charles Wilson, and the president of the project board, David Spencer, be suspended. The Board of Education, of course, must decide upon this recommendation.

The Two Bridges Demonstration Project

The Planning Phase

The antecedents to this project were the activities of the Two Bridges Neighborhood Council and the Parent Development Program activities. As its poverty funds began to dwindle, the Neighborhood Council began to look for foundation support. It persuaded the Ford Foundation to help it focus its activities on education, a request which came at a time when the IS 201 controversy was well developed. Two Bridges also used university personnel, especially from Yeshiva, to put together its preliminary thoughts and secure the Ford Foundation planning grant of $40,000 in July, 1967.

This project was proposed as an alternative to securing the services of a popular Harlem principal, Elliott Shapiro, as district superintendent in their area. During the uncertainty over his appointment, local parent leaders cut this particular set of schools into a project apart from the district, thinking that in that way they could secure the best possible administrator. However, they found that Shapiro, after some controversy with the Board of Education, finally was appointed as disrrict superintendent of the area. At this point many parent leaders preferred to return to the district and their first choice, Shapiro.

The initial Two Bridges proposal was entitled "The Quest for a Child-Centered School system." During many discussions with the Superintendent of Schools this proposal came more and more to assume the form of the Ocean Hill-Brownsville proposal (to be described in the next chapter).

During the summer there was a fairly intensive effort to involve parents, teachers, and the community in the planning phase. Among these several factions, the teachers seemed to play a prominent role. The planning council selected as its consultant John Bremer, Professor of Education at Long Island University. He succeeded in getting the proposal into writing and attempted to involve the many elements of the community in the planning phase. He was the unanimous choice of the planning council for project administrator. Later, however, Bremer's alleged aloofness from council members and the local project board created suspicion and eventually led to his resignation. However, when he resigned in the midst of the legislative struggle in Albany, he charged the Board of Education with "sabotaging" his project and not granting sufficient authority to make the necessary modifications in the program.

One serious technical problem in the planning phase for the Two Bridges project was the extremely inappropriate feeder pattern that was developed, whereby one school which was to feed the junior high school (the center of the project) was excluded from the project and one school with a large proportion of children not going to the junior high school (not a feeder school) was included. At the point when this error was discovered, it was decided not to rearrange the feeder pattern.

The Election Process

An extensive election campaign was developed in the Two Bridges project area to provide for meaningful community dialogue and involvement, as well as to inform both parents and candidates about the situation in their schools and how community involvement or the project board might facilitate school programs.

Factional disputes within the planning council delayed the election itself until December. At that time several items were put on the ballot in addition to the names of the candidates for membership on the project board; the by-laws and amendments to the by-laws also were included. Prior to the election the Board of Education stated that the vote on the by-laws would not be recognized because this was a matter for the elected representatives of the LPB to decide. The by-laws were rejected and a number of amendments were voted in, but the HBS ruled that the amendments would have to be declared null and void because the primary documents (by-laws) were rejected.

There seemed to be little coercion in the nominating process or in the election. However, a few charges were made, for example, of a principal or assistant principal standing in the polling booth area; their presence was alleged to have influenced the votes of Chinese parents whose cultural pattern stresses obedience to authority figures. The community factional disagreements that appeared on the planning council persist on the project board, so much so that it was not until March, 1968, that any one person could assume the responsibilities of chairman, thus abandoning the rotating chairmanship.

According to the election results, nearly a quarter of the parents voted, as did 60 per cent of the teachers and 85 per cent of the supervisors. The parent turnout varied from a high of 38 per cent in PS 126 to a low of 11.8 per cent in PS 42 (see Table II.2).

TABLE II.2

ELECTION RETURNS, TWO BRIDGES PROJECT BOARD DECEMBER, 1967 [1]

School	Number Eligible Voters	Number Actual Votes	Per Cent
PS 126			
Teachers	48	36	75.0
Parents	1,026	390	38.0
Supervisors	3	2	66.7
PS 2			
Teachers	57	*	*
Parents	1,133	252	22.2
Supervisors	3	1	33.3
PS 42			
Teachers	64	41	64.0
Parents	1,156	136	11.8
Supervisors	6	6	100.0
PS 1			
Teachers	51	38	74.5
Parents	1,196	362	30.3
Supervisors	3	3	100.0
JHS 65			
Teachers	100	80	80.0
Parents	2,251	390	12.7
Supervisors	5	5	100.0
Total			
Teachers	320	195	60.9
Parents	6,759	1,530	22.6
Supervisors	20	17	85.0

*No figures available

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[1] These statistics were compiled and made available by the Honest Ballot Association.

The Early Operational Experience

Upon nomination by the planning board, John Bremer was formally appointed the first project administrator of Two Bridges in September, 1967, several months before the Two Bridges Project Board was elected. One could raise the question of the legitimacy, certainly the propriety, of recognition before the local board was formally constituted.

Bremer pulled his staff together very slowly. He complained that he did not receive a grant sufficient for the personnel needed to operate the five schools in this complex. He stated that he had to shortchange the instruction in the schools in order to provide full coverage for the coordinating staff in his office.

Although no supervisor resigned from this project, the supervisors did show some resistance to the project administrator. The one supervisor who was a member of the project board resigned in the spring of 1968.

The project administrator held in-service training workshops with the professional staff as a means of working with and developing his educational leadership. Furthermore, he asked each staff person to account for the achievement scores of his students during that spring. On one occasion he planned to dismiss one principal, but he was informed by the Board of Education's administrative staff that he could not do so without preferring formal charges.

Bermer's strategy in administering this complex was to remain cautious and aloof from the various internal forces as well as from those outside, whether representatives from the State Commission of Education, the Board of Education, or members of the advisory committee's staff. He not only avoided these contacts but also questioned and criticized most efforts to evaluate the demonstration project. He explained his stance as an effort to remain above internecine warfare, so that the goals of the project would not be subverted by any one group. The strategy did not succeed. Partly as a result of its failure, Bremer lost the confidence of his project board. He resigned in March, 1968, condemning the Board of Education for acting in bad faith and stating that the demonstration project could not be successful if the Board of Education retained the ultimate authority.

The local project board then retained as project administrator Dr. Daniel Friedman, who was approved by the Board of Education on May 22, 1968. In the meantime the project board came under attack from the presidents of the parent associations of the four elementary schools, who made the following charges:

1. Four members of the Governing Council are ineligible to be on it.
2. The Governing Council never had the full sixteen members as designated by the election rules. Because of

the resignations, it now has no teacher or supervisory representatives.

3. Parents of the children are disenfranchised, have no voice or participation.

4. When we voted in December 1967, the next election was slated for June 1968. (The Governing Council members were to serve for staggered terms). Now the Governing Council itself has decided that the next election will be June 1969.

5. There are no checks and balances, no democratic procedures, no built-in safeguards, no "watch-dog."

6. The unfair involvement of a local anti-poverty agency, with $125,000 yearly at its disposal, which is controlled by the same people who control the Two Bridges Neighborhood Council.[1]

The presidents proposed that these four schools be returned to District 3, where Dr. Elliott Shapiro was superintendent. They also asked that elections be held during June, 1968, for the following three purposes: (1) to reelect one-third of the project board; (2) to vote on the by-laws; and (3) to implement the amendment on conflict of interest, which was overwhelmingly approved the previous year. These elections were not held.

The Search for Legitimization

The Two Bridges Planning Council submitted its proposal in August, 1967. It held a number of preliminary discussions with Superintendent Donovan to clarify the various areas of agreement and disagreement. The meetings between members of the localproject board and the Board of Education revealed considerable misunderstandings. The Two Bridges LPB, like those of Ocean Hill-Brownsville and IS 201, sought a virtually autonomous or independent system, while the Board of Education made clear what it considered could and should be the limits of the powers and authority granted to the local project boards. The teachers and supervisory representatives on the local board resigned over the involvement of the Two Bridges Demonstration Project in a citywide coalition for community control which sought absolute authority to hire and fire personnel as well as to have complete control over local financing.

The Two Bridges project experienced a relatively peaceful existence, even during the two teacher strikes of 1967 and 1968. Disputes over the legitimacy of the project among some sectors of the parents and community may have inhibited the project board from joining in open confrontations as did Ocean Hill-Brownsville.

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[1] Letter to Alfred Giardino, President of the Board of Education, from Parents Association Presidents of the Two Bridges Model School District, April 4, 1968.

CHAPTER III

FROM ADMINISTRATIVE DECENTRALIZATION TO COMMUNITY CONTROL: THE CONFRONTATION IN OCEAN HILL-BROWNSVILLE

The Planning Phase

In Feburary, 1967--partly in response to the controversy surrounding IS 201 in Manhattan and partly as the result of a movement by parents to gain representation on the local school board when their schools were placed inanother district--members of the Ocean Hill-Brownsville community began to search for a means to participate more directly in school affairs. Their situation was comparable to that of East Harlem in that a new intermediate school (IS 55) was expected to open in February, 1968, as an integrated school. In this case the parents and community leaders of half the schools in District 17 requested not only an "independent" school board but also expanded powers to improve upon the educational facilities, services, and programs for their children. They listed the following five objectives:

1. A voice in the selection of textbooks and in the manner of presentation of the school curriculum.
2. A voice in the selection of the principal and staff in any new schools, such as I.S. 55.
3. A voice in the use of the overall budget assigned to each school yearly. (For example, while we would have little to say about the actual amount of the budget, we might suggest that a particular school could badly use a psychologist rather than two full time secretaries.)
4. A frank study of the comparative achievements of various teachers so as to determine what methods are being employed by teachers who are experiencing success and what is lacking where a teacher's class is not succeeding. (Cf. "Teacher Accountability" in the Board of Education Manual, "Excellence in Education" - 1966).

5. The employment of non-professional teacher assistants, drawn directly from the community who will be able to work with 2 or 3 children at a time who are behind in work. Such community people will be able to relate better particularly to the child who is achieving slower than the other children. We have submitted a Title III request for 250 such non-professionals paid by the federal government. We are also asking that at least half of the 3600 teacher assistants to be hired by the Board of Education be taken from the immediate communities. We believe that an adult with a ninth grade education taken from the community is more valuable than a college senior from outside the community.[1]

A number of key participants, including poverty workers, parents, and neighborhood association and religious leaders, met to discuss how they would assume control of the schools in the area. Rhody McCoy, the district's chief planning consultant, expressed the prevailing mood of the local community:

> It is generally assumed that people are political creatures and that even an abuse of spirit can be worked out in the political realm. But such an assumption is a denial of the fact that men are capable of putting an end to what they find intolerable without recourse to politics. As history has so frequently recorded, the ending of oppression and the beginning of a new day has often become a reality only after people have resorted to violent means. Ocean Hill-Brownsville was at such a point of desperation when the New York City Board of Education issued a Policy Statement indicating a readiness to experiment with various forms of decentralization and community involvement. The voices of reason prevailed and urged the community to challenge the sincerity of the Board as professed in the Policy Statement. The community responded by drafting the following plan which is acknowledged to be the last threads of the community's faith in the school system's purposes and abilities.[2]

Subsequently, Ocean Hill-Brownsville also received a Ford Foundation grant of $44,000 and set out to complete the planning phase according to a methodical twenty-six-day timetable. Parents, community leaders, and teachers became involved. They were in contact with the Mayor's office and held exploratory discussions with members of the Board of Education's administrative staff. In order to insure maximum participation, a number of parents were paid stipends ranging from $39 to $100 a week.[1] They met regularly, both day and evening, to discuss the various specific means for achieving community control of the schools.

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[1] The Brownsville, Ocean Hill Independent Local School Board of District #17, "History and Guidelines for the Formation of the Independent School Board in Brownsville-Ocean Hill," no date.

[2] Rhody A. McCoy, "The Year of the Dragon," paper read at Conference on Education Sub-Systems, Graduate School of Education, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, January 24-26, 1968, p. 3.

Most teacher representatives were appointed by their respective faculties at staff meetings held before the close of the school year. For the most part these were teachers who indicated that they would be in New York during the summer and were willing to participate in the planning phase. At this time, when the teachers were participants in the demonstration project, they recorded the following favorable conditions:

1. Full participation by parents, teachers, and community in the planning and implementation;
2. Confidence of each group in the others;
3. An absence of attitudes deterimental to the plan;
4. Open, honest, and unbiased discussion of all issues;
5. Consensus on all items involved in a plan;
6. Impartial procedures for selecting the best qualified personnel to become involved in the plan;
7. Maintenance of the highest professional standards;
8. The primary objective of improving education through the use of every resource and concentrating on educational programs;
9. Accountability to all interested parties throughout the planning.[2]

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[1] Martin Mayer, The Teachers Strike: New York, 1968 (New York: Harper & Row, 1969), p. 24. Mayer reports that weekly stipends continued to be paid to those elected to the project board and that this information was withheld from the public.

[2] "A Plan for an Experimental School District: Ocean Hill-Brownsville," statement by the teachers of the Ocean Hill-Brownsville Experimental District, September 27, 1967.

At the end of the summer, however, after the proposal had been submitted, the teacher representatives complained bitterly that they had been bypassed in the planning phase and that in fact they were seldom listened to. They described the general atmosphere of the planning meetings as follows:

> . . . extremely hostile and negative. There was a constant stream of remarks to teachers which stated that teachers were bigoted, incompetent, disinterested, obstructive, and were attempting to sabotage the plan.
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> The atmosphere became so hostile that teachers hesitated even to ask a question or express an opinion. Any attempt at teacher comment was met with insults and charges of obstruction.[1]

On July 29, at the end of the twenty-six days, the planning council produced a written document which it submitted in August to the Board of Education. The preamble read:

> The idea of decentralization is still a fluid one. It will have to be shaped from the experiences of all the individuals involved; out of the recognition each gives to the other of the validity of those experiences; and out of the weight of those experiences. It will be shaped out of time, and energy and mutual trust. Above all, it will be shaped out of a mutual striving for distinction.
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> In Ocean Hill-Brownsville, the need for decentralization has a simple genesis; in turn, what decentralization offers is the fulfillment of a simple need. There are people here who feel themselves out of sight of other people, groping in the dark. The City takes no notice of them. In the midst of a crowd, at church, or in the market place, these people are about as obscure as they would be if locked somewhere in a cellar. It is not that they are censured or reproached; they are simply not seen--the invisible people. To be wholly overlooked and to know it is intolerable.
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> The District 17 School Board is a typical example of the obscurity these people experience. Ocean Hill-Brownsville has not been represented on the Board since its inception two-and-a-half years ago. Nor has the community been recognized as having anything worthwhile to contribute to alleviating the problems that confront the schools here.
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> The parents of Ocean Hill-Brownsville are determined that they shall no longer tolerate the abridgement of their right

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 1.

right to have a voice in improving the educational lot of their children. They are imbued with a determination to bring to an immediate and permanent halt their voicelessness in matter pertaining to their schools. They are dedicated to the proposition of joining forces and combining their efforts for the good of all.

It is generally assumed that people are political creatures and that even an abuse of spirit can be worked out in the political realm. But such an assumption is a denial of the fact that men are capable of putting an end to what they find intolerable without recourse to politics. As history has so frequently recorded, the ending of oppression and the beginning of a new day has often become a reality only after people have resorted to violent means. Ocean Hill-Brownsville was at such a point of desperation when the New York City Board of Education's Policy Statement of April 19, 1967 was issued. This was the statement indicating a readiness to experiment with various forms of decentralization and community involvement. The voices of reason prevailed and urged the community to challenge the sincerity of the Board as professed in the Policy Statement. The community responded by drafting the following plan which is acknowledged to be the last threads of the community's faith in the school system's purposes and abilities.[1]

The proposal differed from the original one used to secure the Ford Foundation grant in that it changed the method of selecting the project administrator and principals when vacancies should occur. It also abandoned the request that the project schools be given the More Effective School (MES) status and other supplementary educational services. The teachers later opposed the changes.

The specifically proposed powers, responsibilities, and functions of the local project board, as stated in its document, were as follows:

1. The Board will be responsible and answerable to the New York City Superintendent of Schools and the State Commissioner of Education in all matters pertaining to the schools of this district.

2. The Board will be responsible for selecting and recommending for appointment a Project Administrator.

3. The Board will approve the Project Administrator's recommendations of principals for existing vacancies at PS 178, PS 87, PS 155, PS 144, and IS 55.

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[1] *Ibid.*

4. The Board will select and recommend for appointment a Business Manager.

5. The Board will select nominees for community-relations liaison and community-school worker positions from among community residents.

6. The Board will determine policy for the guidance of the Project Administrator in areas of curriculum, program, and professional personnel.

7. The Board will determine budgetary needs and allocate funds for same. In line with this, the nature of such an experimental school unit makes it imperative that needs be met as they arise. The Projects, therefore, shall be permitted to apply directly for federal, state, and private funds to supplement the School Board's allotment.

8. The Board shall make provisions for periodic evaluations of the total program. Such evaluations will include the project administrator, principals, teachers, community workers, etc. This is not to be construed as meaning the board will do the evaluating. Existing Board of Education procedures for evaluating teachers will remain intact.

9. The Board will make periodic visits to schools in the experimental unit as provided by state regulations.[1]

During the summer the planning council held a number of meetings with Superintendent Bernard Donovan and his staff in order to clarify their intentions and differences. During this planning period the council conferred with a variety of consultants, especially persons connected with Brooklyn College. In addition, it retained as its project administrator Rhody McCoy, an assistant principal of a "600 school" with eighteen years of service in the New York City school system.

The Electoral Process

A widespread publicity campaign was waged in Ocean Hill-Brownsville in preparation for the election of the local project board. A brief training program for parents had been instituted during the planning period. All the procedures and supervision of this election were established by the planning council without consultation with or advice from the Board of Education. Approximately 1,200 signatures were secured for the election. Although the election procedure was unorthodox, observers considered that an honest effort was made to obtain the votes of all parents of the schools. The election itself extended over a period of three days. The first day was normal; people came to the individual schools to vote. The planning council secured police cadets and students from Brooklyn College to actually conduct and/or supervise the election. Although the cardboard boxes and desk drawers which were pressed into service as ballot boxes could easily have been opened and tampered with, no charges were made or misdeeds observed. For the next two days those parents who had not voted were canvassed at their homes and thus given an opportunity to vote. There was no evidence of coercion during the nominating process or during the election period itself.

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[1] Ibid.

The project administrator reported that approximately 1,100 parents voted in the election.[1] Once the parents and teachers who were members of the project board were selected, they in turn designated five community represetnatives who were to play key roles in the confrontations that followed. Rev. Herbert Oliver, a civil rights leader associated with Martin Luther King, became chairman of the LPB, winning over State Assemblyman Samuel Wright. (It was Wright who later circulated petitions to remove the project board and hold another election.) Father John Powis, whose church was the contact agency with the Ford Foundation in administering the planning grant, also was placed on the project board.

The Early Operational Experience

Once the election was over in Ocean Hill-Brownsville, the project administrator began to organize his staff and proceed with a training program for the new board members. He encountered a number of problems in securing the necessary agreements to assemble a staff for the demonstration project that would be able to move into the regular school system at the end of the experiment. He wanted tenure and other benefits for the employees who would join him in this experiment. At the same time he tried to create either new positions or new classifications of positions in the project administrator's staff. He succeeded in gaining a relative degree of flexibility when he was given a lump-sum budget for his central staff. A formula was develop to give him his proportionate share of financing for a normal district superintendent's office having comparable problems. Nevertheless, McCoy complained that it was insufficient. He appealed unsuccessfully for aid from the Ford Foundation and finally was forced to remain within the amount allocated him by the Board of Education. However, like the other demonstration projects, Ocean Hill-Brownsville receives technical assistance from the Ford Foundation-sponsored Institute for Community Studies of Queens College.

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[1] No formal report was made to the Board of Education on the election results or the procedures used.

The project board immediately was faced with a number of vacancies at the supervisory level. For example, four principalships were open at the beginning of the school year. The remaining four positions also became open during the year. The vacancies occurred as incumbents requested reassignment or as the newly-built IS 55 created a new principalship. Some rearrangements also occurred when one junior high school became an elementary school. These openings allowed the LPB in concert with the Board of Education and the State Commission of Education to evolve a new concept called the demonstration principalship as a means of recruiting a supervisory staff that would be more sensitive and responsive to the special needs of the local community (in this case the disadvantaged minority--Puerto Rican and Negro--area). This concept at first was successfully challenged in the courts by the CSA and the UFT in a decision handed down by Judge Dominic Rinaldi. The City of New York and the Board of Education then appealed the decision, losing by a vote of three to one. Again they appealed, and this time they won a six-to-one decision in January, 1969.

Nevertheless, school principals in neighboring local district #9 asked for an investigation of the Ocean Hill-Brownsville project, specifying a series of complaints:

> Licensed and duly appointed supervisors and teachers of this Demonstration District have been held accountable for conditions beyond their control.
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> The Governing Board is utilizing and apparently employing a supervisor currently suspended from duty by the Board of Education because of a Grand Jury indictment for a crime.
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> Licensed and duly appointed supervisors have been subjected to continual harassment by untrained or unsympathetic persons.
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> Licensed and duly appointed supervisors have received libelous insults from emissaries of the district administrator.
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> Licensed and duly appointed supervisors have been threatened with bodily harm by persons known to the Governors with no subsequent corrective action by the District Administrator.
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> School principals have been by-passed by persons bringing messages to teachers from out-of-school sources.

The District School Administrator violated basic principals of public school supervision such as summoning all licensed personnel of a school to a special conference which did not warrant jeopardizing the safety of children.

The District School Administrator instructed heads of schools not to call police if teachers on picket lines are molested by members of the community.

The principals and assistant principals of the schools were virtually ignored in the planning and forming of the new district.

Questionable procedures were followed in the selection of supervisors by the Board of Governors with respect to publicity, eligible lists, record appraisals, and interviews.

Therefore, we strongly urge that:

1. The Board of Education and the Ford Foundation institute an immediate investigation of the administrative and supervisory practices of the Ocean Hill-Brownsville Demonstration District School Board, its Administrator, and its administrative staff.

2. The Board of Education and the Ford Foundation establish immediate controls to prevent such practices as those described above.

3. Only persons properly licensed through regular examination procedures utilizing the merit system be appointed as administrators, supervisors, and teachers in such experimental districts.

4. No expansion of such experimental demonstration districts be planned until a thorough study and evaluation has been made.[1]

Instead of accepting the principals' recommendations, a committee was appointed to establish new criteria to facilitate the demonstration principalships. The committee consisted of the Board of Education's administrative staff, a representative from the State Commission of Education, and the project administrators from the three demonstration projects. Together, the committee and the Board of Examiners formulated the following criteria for examining candidates for principalships in these demonstration projects:

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[1] Statement adopted by Council of Principals, District #19, September 25, 1967, pp. 2-3.

> Preparation: (a) A permanent New York State Certificate valid for service as principal of an elementary school or a New York City license as principal of elementary school; or
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> (b) A baccalaureate degree and in addition 30 semester hours in approved graduate courses; said preparation shall include 32 semester hours in appropriate professional courses, 8 of which shall be in supervision and administration or organization.
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> (c) Preparation under (a) or (b) above shall include or be supplemented by 6 semester hours, in either graduate or undergraduate courses, in one or more of the following fields: community organization, urban education, urban planning, community planning, urban social problems, or social psychology.
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> Experience: (a) Three years of teaching in day schools, one of which shall be under regular license and appointment including either two years of teaching in a disadvantaged area (as defined in Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act or as defined by the Board of Education for the purposes of said Act) or two years of teaching in a special service school or one year of supervisory experience under regular license and appointment in such a disadvantaged area or in a special service school; and
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> (b) Two years of full time supervisory experience in youth or community activities or two years of supervisory experience under appointment in a school in a disadvantaged area as described above or in a special service school, said experience to be in addition to experience offered under (a) above and not concurrent therewith; and
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> (c) Candidates must render 100 hours of non-compensated service in school of youth or community activities in an authorized Demonstration Project area or in a disadvantaged area as defined above. Said non-compensated service must cover a period of not less than three or more than ten weeks.
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> Time extension: For the first examination only, the 8 semester hours in supervision and administration or organization required under Preparation (b) and the 6 semester hours required under Preparation (c) may be completed within three years from the date for meeting the

> academic and professional qualifications as prescribed in Section 238. Upon the failure of a candidate to complete said requirements by such date, the license shall terminate.[1]

These recommendations were presented to the Board of Education but before action could be taken were withdrawn at the request of the local project board, who believed that they risked losing their principals if an unfriendly examiner should administer the tests. No specific action has been taken on these proposals, even though the courts have ordered an immediate examination.

It should be noted that by the completion of its first year the Ocean Hill-Brownsville Demonstration Project had a new set of top administrators, not only the project administrator but also the principals of all eight schools in the cluster. As the 1967-1968 school year opened, most (seventeen of twenty-one) assistants to principals offered their resignations. These supervisors were transferred out by a procedure that was gradual rather than abrupt for two reasons: the desire to ensure stability for the demonstration project, on the one hand, and, on the other, the need to find vacancies for the supervisors in other parts of the system. The project board asked for permission to apply a concept similar to that of demonstration principal to the position of assistant principal as well. The request was denied by both the Superintendent of Schools and the State Commissioner of Education. All new assistant principals for the demonstration project still must be drawn from the competitive list compiled by the Board of Examiners.

As school opened in the fall of 1967, a twelve-day teacher walkout created considerable tension in the community. The project board tried to maintain classes as the Ocean Hill teachers joined the citywide strike. In addition, during this disruption the elected teachers refused to take their assigned places on the project board. However, four teacher representatives from the eight schools, who were elected in "rump" session at the opening of school, attempted to sit on the board. They were not recognized, of course, by the UFT. At a meeting in November, 1967, the project board and the top leadership of the UFT failed to resolve the disagreement between the LPB and the professional staff, but they did agree in principle that the professional staff would treat this situation like any labor-management relationship, urging a wait-and-see attitude onthe part of the teachers. If at some point the conditions became unworkable, the professional staff could decide to strike. Conditions did deteriorate in May, 1968, to the point that the project board attempted to transfer and/or dismiss nineteen members of the professional staff.

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[1] "Eligibility Requirements for Principal of Demonstration Elementary School," memorandum from Bernard E. Donovan to the Board of Education, March 19, 1968.

The Search for Legitimization

During this period the members of the Ocean Hill-Brownsville Planning Council formulated their own proposal and held discussions with representatives of the Board of Education in order to clarify many key issues. There appeared to be little understanding or agreement in the matter of specific allocations of authority that were proposed to be granted the LPB. In fact, the local community interpreted the appointment of the project administrator as formal recognition of the demonstration project. Yet neither at the time of election nor at any later time did the Board of Education formally recognize either the local project board or its individual members. The Board of Education has proceeded de facto with the project board by holding discussions, accepting their recommendations of personnel and their signatures on vouchers, as well as suspending the board during the controversy over transferring or dismissing the nineteen teachers. The major reason for not granting explicit and full legal recognition to the local project board (to all three LPBs, for that matter) was that the central Board, in its turn, then might seek to have its own guidelines explicitly accepted by the LPB. These guidelines were formulated in December, 1968, and read as follows:

> The following guidelines are suggested for the selection, composition, and authority of the Project Board and its administrative staff. They are suggested minimum standards that should make sense to reasonable parents and other people in the community, the professional staff, and the courts. They are not meant to preclude other inventions to accomplish the same purposes which might be worked out to the mutual satisfaction of the Board of Education and project planning groups. Included also are some suggestions for certain actions by the Board of Education in relation to the experimental projects.
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> ### PROJECT BOARD
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> #### The Selection and Composition of the Board
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> We suggest that the governing board for an experimental project be known as the "Project Board" or the "Project Governing Board." The size of the Project Board should conform to the Board of Regents guidelines of not less than 5 nor more than 25 members. The three major interests--parents, professional staff, and community--should be represented directly or indirectly and in some reasonable proportion or ratio to each other. The professional staff may be invited to sit on the Board, but if they are not represented, some organizational machinery should be established to insure that the advice and counsel of teachers and other professionals in the schools

will be consistently fed into the policy-making of the Project. In any event, the parent and community representatives should constitute the majority. The parent component should be selected in a duly constituted election by parents of the participating schools. The community representatives can either be elected by the community at large who reside in the area and are registered to vote, selected by the parent representatives, or elected by all the parents. Project planning groups should be urged to make effective use of parent organizations which have already developed competencies. The representatives of the professional staff--teachers and administrators--should be selected by their appropriate faculty and supervisory groups.

Recognizing that unusual problems and expectations may be involved when representatives of the professional staff and representatives of the parents and community sit together on the Project Board, the following possible alternate types of organizational machinery should be considered before a final decision on the composition of a Project Board is determined.

(a) The professional staff representatives be invited to assume a direct full responsibility role on the Project Board participating in all decisions coming before it; or

(b) The professional staff representatives assume an indirect advisory role, either constituting an Advisory Committee to the Board, or sitting on the Board but with limited voting responsibility; or

(c) A bi-cameral or dual council approach be established--one for parents and community and the other for professional staff. Each body assumes responsibility for different aspects of the operation of the schools with the professional council limited to pedagogical matters; or

(d) In addition to a parent-community board, there be a parent-teacher committee along the lines recently suggested by the Superintendent of Schools.

The term of office for each Project Board member should be for a fixed period, with annual elections to insure a Board which would be responsive to the aspirations of the community.

Elections should be conducted under the supervision of an objective or neutral party such as the Honest Ballot

Association with a clear set of election rules and procedures established to insure a fair and honest election. The election procedures should be approved by the Board of Education in advance.

Functions of the Project Board

1. The Project Board should be responsible to the New York City Board of Education in all matters pertaining to the schools of their project.

2. The Project Board should recommend a candidate to the Board of Education for appointment as the Project Administrator.

3. The Project Board should recommend to the Board of Education, upon nomination by the Project Administrator, candidates for appointment to vacancies for the position of (Acting) Principal in project schools pending the promulgation of new legally established lists.

4. The Project Board should recommend to the Board of Education a candidate for the position of business manager.

5. Within budgetary allotments and existing regulations the Project Board may create and fill any position within the pedagogical or administrative staff of the project schools and project headquarters with qualified personnel. Deviations from existing regulations must be negotiated with the Board of Education which in turn may have to seek the approval of the Commissioner of Education.

6. The Project Board should be empowered to determine policy for guidance of the Project Administrator in such areas as curriculum, programming, and innovation and experimentation in connection therewith, within the large framework set by the Board of Education in accordance with its prescribed legal obligations, and in accordance with State law and the requirements of the Board of Regents and the State Department of Education.

7. The Project Board on the basis of the needs of schools as it perceives them should submit budgetary requests to the Superintendent of Schools as required. Operating funds should be allocated to the project schools from the Project Board in accordance with an appropriate and equitable formula and contractual obligations. The Project Board may authorize the reallocation of such funds within the project as it deems necessary, but not in conflict with items 5 and 6 above.

8. The Project Board should by May 1st of each year submit an annual report to the Board of Education, assessing

the status of the project, its achievements, its problems, and its plans for the future.

9. The Project Board should be empowered in its discretion to adopt such by-laws for the conduct of its own business as it deems necessary and which are in conformity with these guidelines.

PROJECT ADMINISTRATOR

I. Qualifications

New York City licenses as an elementary or secondary school principal or New York State certification for the same position.

II. Duties

1. The Project Administrator should attend all meetings of the Project Board and may or may not be an *ex-officio* member of the Board.

2. He should have such powers as are delegated to him by the Project Board consistent with these guideline principles.

3. He should report to the Project Board as appropriate and prepare the annual report for submission and approval of the Project Board. The powers and duties which are normally assigned to district superintendents should be considered by the Project Board as guidelines for the delegation of authority and responsibility to the Project Administrator.

4. Although the responsibility of the Unit Administrator to the Project Board must be made clear, the Project Board should give full recognition to the reality that the Unit Administrator must develop effective working relationships with the Superintendent of Schools and his administrative staffs.

EVALUATION

The Board of Education is responsible for the evaluation of each project's effectiveness in any and all respects since the projects were initiated and approved by the Board of Education as part of its decentralization plan.

It should receive from the Superintendent of Schools frequent reports on his estimate of the progress of a project.

On receipt of the May 1st annual report from a Project Board, it should give serious study to the details of the report.

For the second year of the operation of a project, the Board should provide up to $20,000 to be used by each Project Board to hire consultants to help the Project Board and its staff conduct a thorough self-evaluation. This self-evaluation would presumably become the basis for the second annual report of the Project Board.

During January and February of the third year of a project, the Board of Education should cause an evaluation to be made of the project by a qualified independent firm, agency, or university, with a report to the Board of Education no later than March 15th. At that time decisions should be reached regarding the continuation of what has been an experimental project.

The Board of Education reserves the right at any time to terminate any demonstration project. Educational welfare of pupils, a redistricting for decentralization purposes or other cause may necessitate such termination.[1]

The local project board spent considerable time formulating specific by-laws to guide its own conduct and decision-making procedures. In January, 1968, it was given a copy of the suggested guidelines for the structure, function, procedures, and grants of authority. Discussions developed the following points which, by the way, the LPB held from the very beginning:

1. The project administrator should be responsible solely to the LPB.

2. The LPB was dissatisfied with the arrangement for evaluation and insisted that the academic year 1967-1968 not be considered as one during which it had control of the schools, i.e., the LPB wanted the evaluation to be considered as beginning in the academic year 1968-1969.

The Board of Education, on the other hand, disagreed with the LPB's proposal on four points and made the following four recommendations:

1. Provision for a fixed term in office for Project Board members.

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[1] Advisory and Evaluation Committee on School Decentralization of the Board of Education, "Suggested Guidelines for Demonstration Projects on Decentralization" (New York: The Board of Education of the City of New York, December 6, 1967).

2. Recognition of the responsibility of the Project Board to [the] central Board of Education.

3. Application for Federal and State funds--this must be done within the framework of existing laws.

4. A statement indicating the Project Board's acceptance of the requirements of the Board of Education's guidelines.[1]

The local project board met with the Board of Education, stating at the outset its dissatisfaction with the suggested guidelines. It wanted a more specific delineation of its authority and power; for example, it expressed the need to control its own budget (on a number of occasions it proposed that it have its own bank account in a local bank). The LPB wanted the right to hire and fire the staff and to engage in contracts and subcontracts, using local citizens, of course. It did not discuss all three issues with the Board of Education but demanded acceptance of its proposal.

A meeting also took place between the project board's lawyer and representatives of the Board of Education. On this occasion representatives of the project board reiterated and expanded on four requests:

1. They wished to apply directly to the federal government for funds (the LPB did not agree that all federal and state funds must be channeled through the city, which recognizes only the Board of Education as the legal educational entith).

2. They wanted to bypass city requirements entirely in establishing curriculum subject only to state standards.

3. They sought to establish at least one school in the demonstration project as a training school, with the result that selection of personnel need not follow normal procedures (this section, although still part of state educational law, has not been invoked for some forty years).

4. They wanted permission to intermingle funds, for example, to apply part of the money allocated for textbooks and supplies against maintenance needs (the representatives of the Board of Education responded that permission would have to come from the city budgetary officer).

The issue of obtaining outside funds also came up at this meeting. The Board of Education stated emphatically that the purpose of the demonstration projects was to experiment with ways and means of increasing parental participation. Thus, if a project should gain substantial sums from other sources, then the possibility of showing the effectiveness of local control would be uncertain. The Board contended that experimental variables must be limited in order to pinpoint the cause-and-effect relationship so that the experience could be replicated in other areas. To significantly increase the amounts of monies spent in the demonstration project would not necessarily prove the value of community involvement. The Board preferred to test whether community involvement will affect student achievement levels. The project leaders wanted no such limitations; in fact, they proceeded to accept sizable grants from the Ford Foundation and applied for the State Education Department's program for urban education. Even though Board of Education President Alfred Giardino stated that the Board would welcome any new funds, he stipulated that such monies must be channeled through and approved by the central agency.

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[1] Letter to Rev. C. Herbert Oliver from Norman Brombacker, Special Assistant to the Superintendent of Schools, February 19, 1968.

Both the Board of Education and the local project board had hoped that this phase of securing formal approval might be concluded in time for the LPBs to assume full authority by the end of March. If this aim could be accomplished, then the LPBs would be able to participate in the normal budget-making process, which would begin in April. The Board of Education did not grant formal approval to the LPBs because it was constrained by the state education law and union contracts from acceding to the demands of the local project boards. This impasse created a series of problems concerning the operation of the three demonstration projects and again raised the question of who had the authority to operate the schools.

Attention focused on the Ocean Hill-Brownsville Demonstration Project, since the leadership of that project forced the issue over the operational powers with respect to assignment of personnel. In May, 1968, the Ocean Hill LPB sent notices of termination of service to nineteen professionals (one principal, five assistant principals, and thirteen teachers) on grounds of what the project administrator characterized as intolerable conditions which would cause a general worsening of the situation between certain professionals and the people in the community. Actually, the project board originally had proposed to dismiss some 200 teachers all at once. Only internal dissension finally limited the list to nineteen. The project personnel committee recognized that they would "be condemned by many as having to make this unpleasant recommendation. But every attempt on our part to solve the problem met with failure. So we will have to write our own rules for our own schools. Enforcement of these rules will have to be carried out by the people of the community."[1]

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[1] Report to Governing Board Ocean Hill-Brownsville School District from personnel committee, Spring, 1968.

The nineteen were referred to the Board of Education headquarters for reassignment. This move was interprted by the professional staff, the community at large, and much of the press and other media as dismissal of the nineteen professionals. The LPB has steadfastly denied this allegation, arguing that it simply request that the staff members be transferred out of the district. The Superintendent denied the LPB's request and the UFT demanded written charges, thus placing the request for transfers (for which no charges are required) into the realm of dismissal. Initially, no formal charges were filed against the nineteen professionals. The project administrator stated that school safety was a factor in the "ouster," charging that those involved had allowed "hazardous conditions" to exist which set an "unhealthy tone" for the schools. Later, formal charges were filed against ten professionals. In addition, the LPB had even prepared formal charges against a substitute teacher, a procedure not required by normal administrative regulations.

The project administrator regarded the strict interpretation of his action by the Board of Education as an attempt to diminish his authority as district superintendent. He claimed that as the administrative head of a school district he has the power to reassign personnel. Although it is true that a district superintendent reassigns personnel within his own jurisdiction, even these lines of authority were not formally delineated. This authority since has been granted to the district superintendent with the approval of the Superintendent of Schools under the guidelines for the academic year 1968-1969.[1]

McCoy strongly believed that he should have the authority to deploy his staff at will, despite union contracts to the contrary. He argued his case on the educational grounds that the supervisory staff should have substantial control over the duties and performance of that staff to enable the system to meet its objectives and goals. Actually, there had been quite a turnover of staff in the district. There was even an informal agreement between the union and the project--but more important, between the union and the Board of Education--that they would not let wholesale numbers of teachers transfer out of that project. In fact, although it was agreed that no more than 10 per cent were to leave, the union was finding it difficult to keep its members in the project, for many teachers wanted to leave. The union complained of harassment.

On the other side of the coin, the union was engaged in counteractivities in the sense that the UFT chapter chairman Fred Nauman in JHS 271 was permitted a considerable amount of free time which he used for engaging in organizational activities charges by McCoy as frustrating his orders. Nauman was also in a position to act as an internal critic of the new project.

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[1] Board of Education of the City of New York, Guidelines to Decentralization (New York: Board of Education of the City of New York, December, 1968).

Whatever the tensions and byplays, it is important to note that under normal circumstances a confrontation was not necessary. Superintendent Donovan and the UFT would have quietly transferred out some of the professional staff. In fact, the IS 201 project leadership actually had transferred more than the nineteen that the leadership of the Ocean Hill-Brownsville district wanted to move out of its project. However, circumstances were different in Ocean Hill-Brownsville. This newborn project was vulnerable, its leadership had not been legitimized, uncertainty and distrust were rampant. In such an atmosphere the activities and the questioning of UFT members and others were perceived as threats to the very life of the project. The reaction on the part of the LPB and its supporters was to insist upon unusual and abnormal displays of loyalty from its staff for the project.

After some preliminary skirmishes on the part of the LPB with the UFT and the Superintendent of Schools, the nineteen persons were sent telegrams to report to headquarters for reassignment. The normal transfer procedure calls for finding a receiving school to accept the transferred personnel rather than sending them to 110 Livingston Street.

Superintendent Donovan was under considerable pressure, especially from the union. He did not and probably could not accept those transfers to his office. The procedure used by Ocean Hill-Brownsville not only was unacceptable to the union but it developed from an incident into an important issue in the debate over defining community control. The timing was perfect for the union, as the controversy became a key issue in the ongoing legislative struggle in which the New York State Regents' bill and the Mayor's proposals, both granting substantial autonomy to local school boards, not only were receiving serious consideration but were gaining sufficient support for passage. However, the sentiment in the State Legislature to pass the Regents' bill prior to the spring recess evaporated upon its return, for the Ocean Hill-Brownsville dispute became public and the transfers now were regarded as tantamount to dismissal of the nineteen professionals.

A proposal for binding arbitration to resolve the dispute was suggested and accepted by the Board of Education and the UFT. The local project board rejected this approach and suggested mediation instead. It recommended that Commissioner Allen establish a panel, of which he would also be a member, to come forth with a settlement acceptable to all parties. The union rejected this idea, mainly because it considered that Allen's support of the Regents' plan before the State Legislature would be prejudicial. The project board, anticipating the union's response, then sought to have Allen exercise his authority to remove the Board of Education. Allen rejected any involvement in the mediation effort.

In any event, the children in the Ocean Hill-Brownsville project lost fifty-two school days. These included the April 10 and 11 boycott of the schools by the parents to support the community call for meaningful control; the boycott by parents and the walkout by teachers over the "dismissal" controversy, when a substantial proportion of students lost thirty-six days of schooling in May and June; and the fouteen-day citywide teacher "strike" at the beginning of the school year (September, 1967).

This, then, was the sharpest confrontation to occur between any of the three projects and the school establishment. It came over the issue of whether the local project board had the right to hire and fire its staff, an authority it was never granted, either formally or informally. Superintendent Donovan urged the projects to follow the established grievance procedures provided for in the union contract and to prefer charges. He virtually assured them that he would go along with any reasonable request based on pedagogical grounds.

The dispute continued, although mediators were brought in and even after the Board of Education appointed a hearing officer, Judge Francis R. Rivers. By the time of Rivers' report, nine teachers had voluntarily left the district. The determination of the other ten to stay dramatized the denial of "due process."[1]

When the hearing officer cleared all ten for lack of sufficient evidence, the general public began to sense that the transfers were punitive, and the confrontation began to escalate and entered its extreme stage. For example, at one point both sides agreed on Theodore Kheel as mediator, yet when several recommendations were made, including the suggestion that all teachers involved with the exception of those six formally charged return to school pending the outcome of the mediation, the local project board rejected them.

The school year ended in a stalemate; the teachers were not in school; the children were not being taught; the battle for community control still raged and was carried over into the next fall term. It became the basis for three teachers' strikes, one after another, from the opening of school in September through November 18. The union had decided, rather than deal with Ocean Hill alone, to strike the entire system on the grounds that the Board of Education had not lived by its agreement to regulate or enforce its own rules, regulations, and orders with the LPB of Ocean Hill. The first and second agreements to settle the citywide strike were violated, according to the UFT, and the entire system entered a third major and long-range strike in which the issues and positions of the participants were polarized.

During the third strike the local project board tried to take a more ameliorating stance, partly as a result of the persuasive efforts of State Regent Kenneth Clark and Whitney Young, director of the National Urban League. The LPB made overtures to accept the return of the UFT teachers. In the meantime it won the right to retain the "loyalist" teachers who replaced the UFT teachers. The confrontation not only publicized the subcommunity of Ocean Hill-Brownsville in a major confrontation against the system, but it gained national attention.

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[1] For a detailed debate on the due process involved, see New York Civil Liberties Union, The Burden of Blame (New York: The New York Civil Liberties Union, 1968), and Sandra Feldman, The Burden of Blame-Placing (New York: United Federation of Teachers, no date).

The escalation of the dispute created considerable tension; there was deployment of police, Board of Education staff, and others in order to try to enforce various kinds of agreements, none of which worked. Even the suspension of the LPB and the unit administrator by the Board of Education was ineffective. In fact, it was a major confrontation in which substantive issues with important procedural aspects were made explicit, as well as significant concerns as to how much autonomy the local subcommunity should or must have in order to improve the educational opportunities of disadvantaged children.

The strike settlement placed Ocean Hill-Brownsville under state trusteeship. The local project board was suspended during the strike and a state trustee presently serves in place of the LPB. A full team of observers--State Education Department, Board of Education, and UFT--now are responsible for seeing that the conditions of the agreement are adhered to.

Thus, the events in Ocean Hill-Brownsville were regarded as a precursor of what could happen under community control of the schools. The project became a lookingglass, and any likelihood of working out informal arrangements in such sensitive areas as professional performance and transfer became most difficult.

Conclusion

The specific issues still unresolved are summarized here, for they apply to all three demonstration projects.

Unresolved Issues of the Delegation of Authority

The confrontation between the project boards and the Board of Education concerns the ultimate rights, responsibilities, and control of the operation of the schools within the project areas. In an attempt to define its authority and to give coherence and cohesion to its demonstration efforts at decentralization, the Board of Education developed guidelines whereby it retained the final authority in areas of personnel, contracting, budgeting, and evaluation of the demonstration design. The guidelines provided a general framework which would grant as much flexibility as possible in each of these areas--but only within and not contravening the existing city, state, and contractual obligations.

The project boards' response to the guidelines has been negative. They perceive the framework of the document as too general and merely another manifestation of what they have come to expect, even of the new

Board of Education, in terms of lack of understanding and delay. The three project boards have conferred and joined together in a "consensus document" setting forth their opinions of what powers and authority the demonstration projects should have. Their major demands are for the power to:

1. Hire and fire teachers;
2. Set curriculum and methods of instruction;
3. Use freely a lump sum of money given annually by the Board of Education;
4. Construct and renovate schools as needed;
5. Contract for maintenance, textbooks, and other services and supplies;
6. Apply directly for federal and state funds and for private money for education;
7. Make supplemental agreements with teachers' and supervisors' organizations.

Their legal adviser contended even before passage of the new legislation that the Board of Education had the authority to delegate much of the power requested. The new decentralization measure (the Marchi bill) passed by the 1968 State Legislature gives the Board the opportunity to formulate those powers which they wish to delegate to the project boards. According to Section 2564, Part 3:

> The Board of Education, with the approval of the Regents shall have the power to delegate to such local school boards . . . any or all [italics supplied] of its functions, powers, obligations, and duties in connection with the operation of the schools and programs under its jurisdiction.

At this stage three points of view or sets of guidelines are suggested for the delegation of powers to the demonstration projects. The following chart compares in detail the variation among the Board of Education's initial set of guidelines proposed in December, 1967, the demonstration projects' "Consensus Document," and the Board of Regents' legislative proposals. The State Legislature has allowed the Board of Education to delegate its own powers to the project board (see Chart III.1).

An Experiment in What?

After nearly two years of existence, it is difficult to know what the three demonstration projects were experimenting with, other than the value and viability of setting up a subsystems approach to reform

CHART III.1

COMPARISON OF PROPOSALS FOR THE ORGANIZATION AND FUNCTION OF LOCAL COMMUNITY BOARD

Board of Education	Demonstration Projects	Board of Regents
	Selection and Composition of Boards	
Parents, community, and teachers, with parents and community forming majority.	Parents, community, and, if so designated, professionals.	All eligible voters in residence; 6 elected 2 appointed by Mayor.
	Functions of Boards	
Instructional Functions:		
PBs determine policy for guidance of PA in curriculum, programming innovations, experimentation within larger framework to be set by central board.	PBs establish curriculum, select and purchase texts directly, determine method of instruction, and control educational policy in schools.	LSBs have authority over selection of texts and other instructional materials and all matters relating to instruction of children.
Personnel:		
PBs shall recommend to Bd of Ed candidates for PA and business mgr; PBs shall recommend for appt PAs principals; PBs can create or fill positions within existing budgetary and contractual limitations. Any deviations to be negotiated with Bd of Ed.	PBs shall appoint a PBs shall have power of appointment of all instructional and supervisory personnel now exercise by present PBs.	LSBs shall appoint local Supt. Right to appoint, assign, promote, discharge, and determine duties of all employees within contractual arrangements. State certification minimum qualification for promotion and appointment of all personnel.

PA: Project Board
PA: Project Administrator
LSB: Local School Board

CHART III.1 (continued)

Board of Education	Demonstration Projects	Board of Regents
		Central Bd shall draw plans for control of transfer of employees from one district to another.
		Central Bd shall negotiate with union, keeping communication with local board open in advisory capacity.
Budget:		
PB to submit requests to Supt of Schools.	Bd of Ed to allocate a sum of money based on per capita grant per registered pupils.	City Ed shall allocate funds to LSBs equitably. Plan should be devised to give LSBs maximum control and encouragement to experiment.
	PBs may apply directly to govt or private agencies for funds.	PBs may apply directly to govt or private agencies for add'l funds.
	PB should have funds for construction and major renovation of schools within the district.	State Ed Dept should provide funds for development and plans.
Project Administrator:		
Powers delegated by PB.	Powers delegated by PB.	

PA: Project Board
PA: Project Administrator
LSB: Local School Board

CHART III.1 (continued)

Board of Education	Demonstration Projects	Board of Regents
Attend all PB meetings. Report to and prepare annual report to PB. Should be a NYC licensed elementary or secondary school principal or have NY State certification for same position. Responsible to PB and the Supt of Schools.	Responsible to PB; carry their mandates.	
Evaluation:		
	PBs shall maintain continuing evaluation and submit annual reports to community.	
	Bd of Ed shall formulate immediately criteria of evaluation. Bd of Ed shall employ an independent, mutually agreed upon party to make initial evaluation of base year.	After 8 yrs from creation of each special district, City Bd shall determine whether district shall continue.
Second yr of operation, Bd of Ed shall provide funds for self-eval.	1971: PB should be allocated funds for self-eval.	
Third yr of operation, Bd of Ed should have qualified independent agency eval.	1973: Bd of Ed should employ a mutually agreed upon independent agency for eval.	

PB: Project Board
PA: Project Administrator
LSB: Local School Board

the larger educational system and improve the educational opportunities of the disadvantaged child. The three projects represent a clear transformation from administrative decentralization supported by the educational establishment to the demands from advocates for community control. The Ocean Hill-Brownsville confrontation discussed in this chapter exposed the basic differences in the means and ends of participants having quite different and competitive vested interests. The discussion of the decision-making processes of the past few years as they apply to decentralization and community control has raised serious questions as to how change can be effected. The experience of the three demonstration projects has led to an escalation of conflict, the value of which each reader must assess for himself.

From the first the initiative in planning for the demonstration projects was taken by the disadvantaged communities, their leaders, and their supporters--the Ford Foundation and university personnel. These groups selected the areas for demonstration purposes; they articulated the functions and powers to be transferred; they established most of the conditions under which the demonstration projects were to operate.

At the outset the Board of Education did not have an experimental design, one which should have considered a number of important factors pertaining to community involvement. The Board permitted the planning to go ahead with "approval in principle" rather than a clear statement of a preliminary set of guidelines. There can be little question that these too would have been challenged, but the likelihood of support for the confronters in the expanded confrontation would have been reduced. Communication between the project planning councils and the various sectors of the local community, including teachers, was inadequate. There was little effective consultation, for example, with the teachers in Ocean Hill-Brownsville or the parents in IS 201, a lack which resulted in factionalism.

Although there were no guidelines for election procedures, these could easily have been provided to cover nominations, campaigning, and voting. Similarly, there should have been adequate preparation of eligible voter registration lists, supervision of the electoral process, as well as formal acceptance of the election results by the Board of Education. The many complaints from the community about election procedures and the unrepresentative nature of the local project boards were left unresolved, thus spawning further factionalism and community controversy. The Board of Education should have provided opportunities, through community dialogue and other means, for the contending factions to explore their differences and take constructive action for the children's education.

The struggle to establish a new staff for the project offices revealed the inflexibility in classification of school personnel. The adoption of a lump-sum budget provided a more effective approach than a line-item budget. Again, the Board of Education was responsive in that it explored and discovered new methods and criteria for the selection of the top administrative positions for the project administrators and demonstration school principalships. The local project boards generally have selected responsible and qualified professional educators for these positions. The LPBs and their professional staffs had considerable difficulty in securing adequate information and learning the technical details of current administrative practice. So much time and energy were consumed both in discovering how the "system" works and in confronting the system that there was little opportunity to concentrate on devising innovative educational practices.

The Board of Education not only provided insufficient preparation and training for the local project board staff in handling personnel (especially in grievance procedures) and budget-making, but the liaison function of the Board's staff was, for the most part, one of reacting to the initiative taken by the LPB staffs rather than taking the initiative and sensitively exploring the means to anticipate operational problems as they arose. The dual role and responsibility of the LPB staffs to both the local project boards and the Board of Education was not adequately developed or articulated in operational terms by all parties. Therefore, tensions, misunderstandings, and distrust grew. As exchanges were conducted between the parties, they were not so realistically oriented as to develop and build a mature, responsive, and responsible working relationship to make the most of the potential insights, talents, and resources of all partners in the education of our children.

The transfer of authority and responsibility has been marked by ambiguities, confusion, and tension. Neither the public nor the major participants (parents, teachers, administrators, and board members) began with a clear understanding of the delegation of power to the local project boards and the local community. The Board of Education did not issue a clear written statement of exactly which powers were being transferred to the local community. This oversight created serious problems in communicating the meanings of key words and concepts, such as "decentralization" and "control."

What has occurred, however, is a change in the attitudes and behavior of the parents in the demonstration projects toward their schools, the personnel, and the programs. It is these changes which are examined in Part II. First, however, let us describe the nature of the schools and communities of the three projects.

CHAPTER IV

THE SCHOOLS IN THE THREE DEMONSTRATION PROJECTS

Introduction

The next two chapters provide an array of statistical data about each of the thirteen elementary schools and the subcommunities[1] which contain them. This chapter displays a few of the key variables that are educationally related in each of the elementary schools, such as student inputs into the schools and the administrative outputs for the schools, as well as the student outcomes from each school and each project. The first section of Chapter V describes and analyzes the ethnicity, socio-economic status, residential patterns, and school populations of each educational community as reported in the 1960 census. The second section of Chapter V briefly discusses the political style or dynamics, degree of politicization, and organizational arrangements that existed prior to the establishment of the demonstration projects, how these characteristics affected the projects, and the responses of the residents and parents in the project areas in terms of strategies and tactics.

The present chapter examines the schoolhouse--what goes into it and what comes out from it. It describes for various points in time the student input of each school in terms of racial and ethnic composition, attendance, transiency, and the percentage of children eligible for free lunches (an indicator of student economic level). In addition to the student inputs, the discussion deals with the system's outputs for each of these schools as they deal with building utilization, staffing of the school, class size, and per-pupil expenditures. Finally, this chapter shows pupil outcomes as measured by the mean reading score in each school at the third- and sixth-grade levels. Where possible, change factors are included.

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[1] The demonstration projects, a complex of elementary schools feeding into one or two junior high schools, are an educational community in this study. Most of the statistics, however, are compiled on the individual schoolhouse and the immediate residential area or educational subcommunity that uses the schools. There are comparable data on thirteen of the fourteen elementary schools. The missing school recently was changed from a junior high to an elementary school.

A survey of these student inputs, administrative outputs, and pupil outcomes with their variations and commonalities may help clarify the present thrust for community control within the demonstration project areas.

Pupil Inputs

At this point in time, when the demand for quality education is universal and the expectation is for equality of achievement rather than merely for equality of opportunity, it is necessary to know the kinds of children that come into the schoolhouse in order to understand the magnitude of the educational problems. One objective of the present survey was to secure this kind of information.

Ethnicity in Enrollment

The pupils in the demonstration projects' elementary schools were predominantly Negro and Puerto Rican (see Table IV.1). No school had a proportion of white enrollment equal to or greater than the citywide average of 49.2 per cent. The range of enrollments of "others" went from none to 45 per cent; in one school the 45 per cent "other" enrollment included about 20 per cent Chinese students. Nine schools had less than 10 per cent "others."

In the Two Bridges project there were a number of Chinese and a minority of whites. In 1964-1965, just prior to the opening of IS 201 and at the beginning of the decline in demand for integration and the concomitant build-up of demands for community control, eight of these elementary schools had Negro enrollments that substantially exceeded the citywide average of 30.1 per cent. The range ran from 4 to 98 per cent Negro. Four schools had Negro enrollments of 85 per cent or more and seven were over three-fifths black. Eight schools had Puerto Rican enrollments well above the citywide average of 20.7 per cent in the school year 1964-1965. The range of Puerto Rican enrollments in the project elementary schools ran from 2 to 50 per cent, with eight schools exceeding the citywide average.

Many schools experienced major ethnic changes between 1958 and 1963 and again between 1963 and 1966, at which point they more or less stabilized. The city as a whole lost an average of 9 per cent "others" during the period from 1958 to 1963. Four of the demonstration project elementary schools--all in Ocean Hill-Brownsville--lost percentages above this average. In these four schools the decline in enrollment of "others" ranged from -12 to -28 per cent. A substantial proportion of white withdrawal occurred during those five years. The period from

TABLE IV.1

ENROLLMENT OF WHITE STUDENTS AND CHANGES IN THE THREE DEMONSTRATION PROJECTS FROM 1958 TO 1966 (IN PER CENTS)

School	Project	White En 1965	Change 1958-1963	Change 1963-1966
(Citywide average)		49.2	- 9	- 7.5
133	IS 201	45	0	0
42	Two B	45	- 4	- 8
1	Two B	41	5	12
2	Two B	38	6	15
155	OH-B	7	-28	- 7
39	IS 201	6	- 5	- 2
73	OH-B	3	0	- 2
87	OH-B	3	-20	- 2
137	OH-B	2	-12	- 1
144	OH-B	1	-22	- 1
68	IS 201	0	- 2	0
24	IS 201	0	1	0
126*	Two B	-	-	-

*New school, no data available

1963 to 1966 produced a citywide average decline of 7.5 per cent; only one of the demonstration project elementary schools exceeded this average decline.

Ocean Hill-Brownsville experienced the greatest increase in Negro enrollment (two districts by one-quarter) in the eight years from 1958 to 1966. In Brooklyn, PS 155 also increased its Puerto Rican enrollment by 13 per cent in the same eight years and lost 35 per cent of its white enrollment during that period. In general, six schools had increases in Negro enrollment well above the city's average increase of 6.6 per cent from 1958 to 1963, and two schools exceeded the city average increase of +3.7 per cent from 1963 to 1966. Some schools experienced a decrease in Negro enrollment, especially in the 1963-1966 period, but this decrease generally was met by an increase in Puerto Rican enrollment.

Five schools experienced an increase in Puerto Rican enrollment above the citywide average of +2.9 per cent from 1958 to 1963, and seven schools had increases exceeding the citywide average of +3.5 per cent during the period 1963 to 1966. Again, there were some decreases in Puerto Rican enrollment, especially in PS 2 in Two Bridges and PS 144 in Ocean Hill-Brownsville. In the case of PS 2, the decline in Puerto Ricans was compensated by an increase in enrollment of "others"; in PS 144 Puerto Ricans were replaced by Negro students.

In general, about two-thirds of these elementary schools were predominantly minority group schools for many years; in the last ten years they were subject to even greater Negro and Puerto Rican enrollments.

Student Attendance, Transiency, and Eligibility for Free Lunches

The elementary schools in the demonstration projects generally experience poorer average attendance than the majority of schools in the city. With an average attendance of 92.1 per cent in 1963-1964, PS 2 in Two Bridges was the only school that surpassed the citywide average of 90.1 per cent (see Table IV.2). All other schools fell below this average. More important, half the project schools and all of those in Ocean Hill-Brownsville had higher than average transiency rates, with the student turnover in one reaching nearly three-quarters during an academic year.

In all but two of the projects' elementary school in 1965-1966, the percentages of children eligible for free lunches exceeded the citywide average of 40.3 per cent. This is considered a good measure of poverty.

TABLE IV.2

STUDENTS' TRANSIENCY, ATTENDANCE, AND ELIGIBILITY FOR FREE LUNCH IN THE THREE DEMONSTRATION PROJECTS (IN PER CENTS)

School	Project	Transciency 1965-1966	Attendance 1963-1964	Free Lunch 1965-1966
137	OH-B	73	89.2	55
155	OH-B	66	87.3	31
39	IS 201	54	84.4	73
87	OH-B	53	86.5	75
144	OH-B	52	85.0	29
73	OH-B	51	87.8	55
24	IS 201	48	87.8	72
(Citywide avarage)		40	90.1	40
133	IS 201	37	88.0	69
42	Two B	33	89.9	72
68	IS 201	29	88.4	69
2	Two B	23	88.8	58
1	Two B	12	92.1	61
126*	Two B	-	-	-

*New school, no data

Administrative Outputs

Not only is it necessary to know the kinds of student inputs into the schools, but one must also know the facilities, conditions, and personnel provided for the education of these children by those in authority.

The Schoolhouse

The utilization of school buildings in New York City runs the gamut from some which are very underutilized (about 60 per cent) to some which operate at a rate of 150 per cent or more utilization. If children could be moved around to balance utilization, each schoolhouse in 1964-1965 would have been 93.5 per cent utilized. Nine of the demonstration project elementary schools exceeded this figure and six of them exceeded 100 per cent (see Table IV.3).

There were some changes in utilization from 1961 to 1966. In the period from 1961 to 1963, four schools increased their utilization by a range from 4 to 38 per cent, while six schools decreased in range from -1 to -38 per cent. In the period from 1963 to 1966, four other schools increased their utilization in a range from +1 to +16 per cent, whereas eight others decreased in utilization from -2 to -38 per cent.

In 1963-1964 approximately 12 per cent of the city's schoolrooms were substandard. Five demonstration project elementary schools exceeded this figure by as much as 50 per cent. Only four schools had no substandard rooms in use at all. With only one exception (PS 133 Manhattan) all these elementary schools had been cited for building code violations.

Staff in the Schools

The average ratio of pupils to principals or other administrators is 448:1. Only four demonstration schools exceeded this ratio.

In 1964-1965 the demonstration project elementary schools generally could compare favorably with other schools in the city in their student-teacher ratios (in some cases they were better off). About one-third of the demonstration schools had ratios above the citywide average of 25:1. Sixty-nine per cent of the schools had decreases in their ratios that exceeded the citywide decrease of 8 per cent.

The demonstration project elementary schools as a group had fewer teachers with three or more years' experience (see Table IV.4). Although four schools, mainly in IS 201, exceeded the citywide average of 64.2 per cent, nine of them were well under this average. Only 25 per cent of the teachers in PS 87 in Ocean Hill had three or more years of experience--in fact, in six schools fewer than 50 per cent of the teachers had this amount of experience.

TABLE IV.3

UTILIZATION OF SCHOOLS IN THE DEMONSTRATION PROJECTS (IN PER CENTS)

School	District	Utilization 64/65	Substandard Rooms
137	OH-B	147	15
24	IS 201	140	0
144	OH-B	124	15
39	IS 201	117	10
1	Two B	108	50
155	OH-B	105	9
42	Two B	99	16
73	OH-B	98	49
87	OH-B	95	0
(Citywide average)		94	12
133	IS 201	92	0
68	IS 201	81	11
2	Two B	72	0
126	Two B*	-	-

*New school, no data

TABLE IV.4

TEACHERS WITH THREE OR MORE YEARS' EXPERIENCE, FOURTEEN OR MORE YEARS' EXPERIENCE, AND REGULAR TEACHERS (IN PER CENTS)

School	Project	3 Yrs+	14 Yrs+	Regular*
68	IS 201	83	20	81
133	IS 201	83	17	-
24	IS201	69	10	66
42	Two B	68	8	81
(Citywide average)		65	23	74
2	Two B	58	8	0
1	Two B	56	6	68
144	OH-B	47	7	79
39	IS 201	44	6	72
155	OH-B	39	5	57
137	OH-B	33	0	52
87	OH-B	25	0	75
126**	Two B	-	-	-

*Regular teachers, as distinguished from substitutes
**New school, no data available

When it came to teachers with fourteen years or more of experience, the demonstration project elementary schools fared even worse. Not one even reached the citywide average of 23.2 per cent. In fact, nine schools had 10 per cent or less of these highly experienced teachers and two of them had none.

In 1965-1966 some of the demonstration project schools compared more favorably with other schools in their percentages of teachers with regular licenses as contrasted with those teaching under substitute status. Five schools exceeded the citywide average of 74.1 per cent. The range in those below the citywide average, however, was extremely wide, from 0 to 72 per cent.

Class Size

By 1965 all the demonstration project elementary schools had been designated special service schools, which meant that they were to receive increased services and generally were to feature smaller class size. During the year 1965-1966, only four of these schools were above the citywide average of 28.7 pupils per class, all four had an average class of twenty-nine pupils.

From 1958 to 1963 there were some changes in class size in various schools. During that period only two schools increased in class size, four schools remained constant, and seven reduced in average class size. The Ocean Hill-Brownsville schools experienced the greatest reduction. However, during the period 1963-1966, some of the increases were offset by decreases, while decreases in other schools were offset by new increases.

Per-Pupil Expenditures

In 1967-1968 about one-half of the demonstration project elementary schools received per pupil operating costs above the citywide average of $793 (see Table IV.5). There was quite a range--from $592 to $1,075. The schools in IS 201 were the most expensive to operate, while those in Ocean Hill-Brownsville were the least expensive. Per-pupil instructional costs closely followed the operational costs.

Pupil Outcomes

For the last few years no move by the administration--whether it improved utilization, provided more experienced teachers, reduced class size, or increased expenditures--was considered satisfactory by parents and community leaders in the disadvantaged areas, because they perceived no marked improvement in their children's educational outcomes. Today the most generally accepted objective measure of student outcomes is the reading score obtained on standardized tests. Parental

TABLE IV.5

PER-PUPIL OPERATING AND INSTRUCTIONAL COSTS, 1967-1968

School	District	Operating	Instructional
68	IS 201	$1,075	$925
24	IS 201	1,049	843
39	IS 201	1,023	883
144	OH-B	943	943
133	IS 201	940	782
2	Two B	868	723
126	Two B	793	680
(Citywide average)		793	636
42	Two B	731	625
1	Two B	719	596
87	OH-B	671	553
73	OH-B	647	558
137	OH-B	636	530
155	OH-B	592	511

expectations throughout the city were that their children should be reading at least at grade level. They interpreted grade level to mean that according to national norms a child taking a reading test in April of the third grade should be reading at 3.8 (third grade, eighth month). The fact that these national tests are purposely designed to that one-half of the nation's third-graders are expected to score below 3.8 and one-half above holds no consolation to the parents whose children are below grade level.

Reading Scores

In April, 1964, the citywide average reading score was 3.6, or two months behind the national norm. At any rate, none of the demonstration project elementary schools achieved even this citywide average level of reading (see Table IV.6). The schools were from a half-year to nearly a year and one-half behind the national norms at the third-grade level. It is especially significant to realize that children only begin to read in the first grade and therefore to be a year and one-half behind by the third grade forebodes a poor future.

From April, 1959, to April, 1963, almost all demonstration schools experienced a substantial decrease in their mean third-grade reading scores, while the citywide average showed a small increase of +.1. The decreases in mean reading scores ranged from no change to a loss of .7 in one year. By and large the schools showing the largest declines also were among the schools with the largest decreases in white enrollment for that period of time. The Ocean Hill-Brownsville schools showed the largest decline.

However, substantial gains also were made in mean reading scores in some of these schools during the period from April, 1963, to May, 1966. Five schools, three of them in Ocean Hill-Brownsville, increased their mean scores from a small gain of +.2 to a substantial one of +.8. Five schools remained the same, among them schools which had experienced considerable declines in mean reading scores during the preceding five-year period.

From 1964 to 1967, however, all schools experienced gains in their mean reading scores at the third-grade level. While the city average gain was two months, the range in gains for the project elementary schools was from two months to one year and one month. Nearly one-half of the schools showed gains of six months or more. Although none attained a mean score equal to the city average, the gaps were lessened. No school was more than eight months behind the city average, and six were five months or less below. The largest gains were made in the Ocean Hill schools, where in 1964 the scores were the lowest. Two schools in the Two Bridges area and two in IS 201 also showed gains of six months or more.

For the year that the demonstration projects were in operation (1967-1968), nine of the schools showed decreases in the April, 1968

TABLE IV.6

THIRD-GRADE READING SCORES FOR APRIL, 1964, APRIL, 1967, AND APRIL, 1968, AND CHANGES IN SCORES FOR 1959-1963, 1963-1966, 1964-1967, AND 1967-1968

School	District	4'64	Gr 3 4'67	Gr 3 4'68	Gr 3 59/63	Chg 63/66	Chg 64/67	Chg 67/68
(National norm)		3.8	3.8	3.8				
(Citywide average)		3.6	3.8	3.7	+.1	+.2	+.2	-.1
1	Two B	3.0	3.7	3.5	-.5	0	+.7	-.2
68	IS 201	3.0	3.2	3.1	-.4	-.2	+.2	-.1
42	Two B	2.9	3.2	3.0	-.1	0	+.3	-.2
155	OH-B	2.9	3.2	3.6	0	+.2	+.3	+.4
2	Two B	2.8	3.6	3.3	-.5	-.2	+.8	-.3
133	IS 201	2.8	3.5	2.9	-.4	+.2	+.7	-.6
137	OH-B	2.8	3.2	3.1	-.6	-.2	+.4	-.1
24	IS 201	2.7	3.0	3.5	-.4	0	+.3	+.5
73	OH-B	2.7	3.3	*	-.5	0	+.6	*
39	IS 201	2.5	3.1	2.6	-.7	+.3	+.6	-.5
144	OH-B	2.4	3.1	2.5	-.7	+.3	+.7	-.6
87	OH-B	2.3	3.4	3.1	-.6	+.8	1.1	-.3
126**	Two B	--	3.3	3.4	--	--	*	+.1

*No scores available
**New school, data only for 1967

third-grade reading scores. The largest decreases occurred in two schools which decreased six months in the mean reading scores, compared to the previous year. In other terms, the mean reading scores for these two schools were 1.2 years below the city average and eight months below the city average. Three schools improved their mean scores with increases ranging from one to five months.

Of the ten elementary schools reporting sixth-grade scores in May, 1966, all were below grade level. With the exception of one school in the Two Bridges area, the lag was at least one year two months, and at the most it was two years two months. By the next testing period in April, 1967, four schools had improved their scores, two remained the same, and two had decreased. Information was available for only eight of the thirteen schools, since several of them no longer included the sixth grade. In April, 1968, the six schools for which information was available had mean scores below grade level. However, four of them had improved their mean scores from the year before and two had decreased by four months each.

Neither the increases nor the decreases in reading scores can be explained by any one input or output factor. Those schools that increased mean scores the most neither received the most financial or personnel resources nor changed substantially in their ethnic make-up. Similarly, those that decreased in the latter three-year period showed no pattern of decrease in services or quality of personnel. In fact, PS 68 Manhattan had one of the highest per pupil instructional costs, one of the lowest instructional pupil ratios, and one of the highest percentages of experienced teachers. Although 98 per cent black, its ethnic enrollment remained stable for over ten years. It had one of the lowest transiency rates and a relatively high attendance rate, yet its third-grade mean reading score decreased by two months from 1963 to 1966.

Understandably, then, since even in relatively stable areas--not to mention unstable ones--increased expenditures, services, and personnel failed to produce satisfactory outcomes as measured by mean reading scores, concerned parents and community leaders began to search for and to demand a new approach to education. Community control became the watchword, the panacea which might offer hope to those in despair and in which many, some hesitantly, some eagerly, put their faith for better educational outcomes for their children.

Summary of Project Differentials

Each demonstration project may be considered as a unit in terms of student input (see Table IV.7), administrative output (see Table IV.8), and pupil outcomes (see Table IV.9).

TABLE IV.7

STUDENT INPUTS BY DEMONSTRATION PROJECT AND BY SCHOOL (IN PER CENTS)

School and District	Negro 64/65	Puerto Rican 64/65	White/ Other 64/65	Chg Negro 58/63	Chg Puerto Rican 58/63	Chg White Other 58/63	Negro 63/66	Puerto Rican 63/66	White/ Other 63/66	Attend-ance	Trans-iency 65/66	Free Lunch 65/66
(Citywide average)	30.1	20.7	49.2	+ 6.6	+ 2.9	- 9.0	+ 3.7	+ 3.5	- 7.5	90.1	39.5	40.3
Ocean Hill-Brownsville												
73	85	12	3	0	0	0	- 1	+ 2	- 2	87.8	51	55
87	62	36	3	+12	+ 8	-20	+ 6	- 5	- 2	86.5	53	75
137	90	8	2	+12	0	-12	- 3	+ 4	- 1	89.2	73	55
144	62	38	1	+11	+11	-22	+18	-15	- 1	85.0	52	29
155	68	25	7	+23	+ 6	-28	0	+ 7	- 7	87.3	66	31
IS 201												
24	86	14	0	+ 1	- 1	+ 1	-12	+13	0	87.8	48	72
39	50	44	6	+10	- 6	- 5	- 5	+ 7	- 2	84.4	54	73
68	98	2	0	0	2	- 1	- 6	+ 6	0	88.4	29	69
133	11	45	45	- 4	+ 4	0	+ 2	+ 6	0	88.0	37	69
Two Bridges												
1	22	37	41	- 5	+ 1	+ 5	- 8	- 4	+12	92.1	12	61
2	16	46	38	+ 9	-16	+ 6	- 1	- 5	+15	88.8	23	58
42	4	50	45	+ 1	+ 3	- 4	+ 2	+ 5	- 8	89.9	33	72
126*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

*New school, no data available

TABLE

ADMINISTRATIVE OUTPUTS BY DEMONST

School and District	% Utiliz'n 64/65	% Chg in Utiliz'n 61/63	% Chg in Utiliz'n 63/66	% Subst Rooms 63/64	Student-Teacher Ratio-64/65	% Chg in St/Teacher Ratio-64/66
(Citywide average)	93.5			12	25	
Ocean Hill						
73	98	0	+11	49	26	- 8
87	95	-38	-15	0	29	-24
137	147	-11	-29	15	26	+12
144	124	0	+ 1	15	26	-19
155	105	+ 4	= 5	9	29	- 7
IS 201						
24	140	+38	-33	0	23	+ 4
39	117	+32	-38	10	25	-28
68	81	- 2	-28	11	19	- 5
133	92	-13	-24	0	25	+ 4
Two Bridges						
1	108	+25	+16	50	25	-12
2	72	- 1	- 2	0	22	+12
42	99	- 4	+12	16	23	+22
126*	-	--	-	-	-	--

*New school, no data

IV.8

RATION PROJECT AND BY SCHOOL

% 3+ Teach Exper	% 14+ Teach Exper	% Reg'r Teach	Aver Class Size	% Chg in Class Size		Per/P Oper'l Costs	Per/P Instru'l Costs	Pupil/Ins Staff Ratio
				58/63	63/66			
65.2	23.2	74.1	28.7			$ 793		19.5
40	8	81	28	0	- 7	647	558	19.8
25	0	75	27	- 6	- 7	671	553	18.1
33	0	52	28	- 6	0	636	530	18.6
49	7	79	28	-14	+12	943	943	13.2
39	5	57	29	-18	+ 7	592	511	19.8
69	10	66	29	- 3	0	1,049	843	13.9
44	6	72	22	- 4	-15	1,023	883	12.5
83	20	81	27	+ 7	- 7	1,075	925	13.8
83	17	-	27	- 4	+ 4	940	782	15.7
56	6	68	29	0	+ 7	719	596	18.0
58	8	0	27	0	- 4	868	723	17.8
68	8	81	29	+20	- 3	731	625	17.8
-	-	-	-	-	-	793	680	17.0

TABLE IV.9

STUDENT OUTCOMES BY DEMONSTRATION PROJECT AND SCHOOL, AS DETERMINED BY READING SCORES

School	District	Gr 3 4'64	Gr 3 4'67	Gr 3 4'68	Chg 59/63	Chg 63/66	Chg 64/67	Chg 67/68
(Citywide average)		3.6	3.8	3.7	+.1	+.2	+.2	-.1
73	OH-B	2.7	3.3	*	-.5	0	+.6	*
87	OH-B	2.3	3.4	3.1	-.6	+.8	+1.1	-.3
137	OH-B	2.8	3.2	3.1	-.6	-.2	+.4	-.1
144	OH-B	2.4	3.1	2.5	-.7	+.3	+.7	-.6
155	OH-B	2.9	3.2	3.6	0	+.2	+.3	+.4
24	IS 201	2.7	3.0	3.5	-.4	0	+.3	+.5
39	IS 201	2.5	3.1	2.6	-.7	+.3	+.6	-.5
68	IS 201	3.0	3.2	3.1	-.4	-.2	+.2	-.1
133	IS 201	2.8	3.5	2.9	-.4	+.2	+.7	-.6
1	Two B	3.0	3.7	3.5	-.5	0	+.7	-.2
2	Two B	2.8	3.6	3.3	-.5	-.2	+.8	-.3
42	Two B	2.9	3.2	3.0	-.1	0	+.3	-.2
126**	Two B	--	3.3	3.4	--	--	*	+.1

*No scores available
**New school, data only for 1967-1968

The Ocean Hill-Brownsville Demonstration Project

As for student input, Ocean Hill-Brownsville's schools have as a group the largest Negro enrollment (almost 75 per cent), are comparable to IS 201 in overall Puerto Rican enrollment (about one-quarter), and have the smallest white enrollment (about 3 per cent). The district has experienced the greatest change in ethnicity from 1958 to 1966, gaining a large percentage of Negroes and Puerto Ricans and losing a substantial percentage of whites (about 25 per cent in the eight-year period). Ocean Hill-Brownsville has the poorest overall attendance record (all schools fall below the city average) and the largest degree of transiency (all schools are above the city average), but the smallest proportion of children eligible for or taking the privilege of free lunches.

The administrative outputs for this district as a whole have been the most limited. These schools were the most overutilized and used the largest percentage of substandard rooms. In 1964-1965 the student-teacher ratio was higher than the other two districts; however, there were more reductions in this ratio in the Ocean Hill-Brownsville area between 1959 and 1966 than in the other two areas. Ocean Hill had the lowest percentage of teachers with three or more years of experience (all schools are below the city average), as well as the smallest proportion of those with fourteen or more years of experience. The district, however, had a better ratio than the Two Bridges area in its proportion of regular teachers, although not as high as the IS 201 project. Its average class size was comparable to that in the other two districts. However, its per-pupil operating and instructional costs were below those in the Two Bridges area and considerably below those in the IS 201 project. In addition, the pupil instructional ratio was higher than either of the other two projects.

It is not surprising, then, that in 1964, with the most disadvantaged and changing student input and the most limited administrative output, Ocean Hill pupils had the poorest outcomes in terms of reader achievement. All the Ocean Hill-Brownsville schools were below the citywide average in mean reading scores at the third-grade level, and two were over a year behind in reader achievement. All but one of the five schools were at least a year behind the national norm. By 1967 all schools made substantial gains in mean reading scores. However, no school has yet attained an average equal to that of the city as a whole. By April, 1968, while under demonstration project status, one school had improved its mean reading score by four months and three had decreases ranging from one to six months.

The IS 201 Demonstration Project

The student input of the IS 201 Demonstration Project was somewhat better than that of Ocean Hill. The enrollment was composed of about 61 per cent blacks, 26 per cent Puerto Ricans, and 13 per cent others. While the project experienced some changes in ethnic composition between 1958 and 1966, they were largely a small loss of blacks and a comparable gain in Puerto Ricans. The attendance rate in IS 201 was somewhat higher than that of Ocean Hill but lower than Two Bridges. While two of its schools showed a higher degree of transiency than the citywide average, two of them were lower. This area, however, had the highest percentage of children eligible for free lunches, indicating either a lower economic level or wider acceptance of the free lunch program.

Administrative outputs were the most satisfactory in the IS 201 area. Although two of its schools were overutilized, two of them also were underutilized. Only a small percentage of substandard rooms were in use. Student-teacher ratios were the most favorable in this project (all at or below the city average) and they continue to improve. The IS 201 elementary schools had the highest percentages of teachers with three or more years' experience (three-quarters of these schools were above the city average) and the highest percentage with fourteen or more years of experience. This project also had the highest percentage of regular teachers in the schools. Class size was the most advantageous here and it continues to improve. The IS 201 project received by far the highest per-pupil operating and instructional expenditures (all schools are above the city average) and enjoyed the lowest instructional pupil ratio (all schools were below the citywide average).

However, in 1964, despite such decided advantages over the other two projects, these schools fared only slightly better in pupil outcomes than those in Ocean Hill and not as well as those in the Two Bridges project. Third-grade reading scores still were below the citywide average, in one instance by more than one year. Three of the four schools were over a year behind the national norms. By 1967, however, all schools had increased their mean scores and the greatest lag behind the city average was eight months. These schools still had not attained the city average, they no longer had mean scores superior to Ocean Hill, and they were further behind those in the Two Bridges area. By 1968, under the demonstration project, three schools had lost from one to six months and one had gained five months.

The Two Bridges Demonstration Project

The schools in the Two Bridges demonstration project were the most pluralistic of the three areas in their student enrollment. Of the three projects, these comprised the highest proportion of Puerto Ricans (about 45 per cent), the highest proportion of "others" (about 42 per cent, which group included about 20 per cent Chinese and the rest whites), and the lowest proportion of Negroes (about 13 per cent). Although the Two Bridges school underwent some changes in the eight-year period from 1958 to 1966, these were small and the major features were a loss of Puerto Ricans and a gain in "others." Student inputs showed a higher degree of stability than in the other two projects--all the elementary schools in Two Bridges were below the city average in degree of transiency and well below the other two demonstration areas. Attendance rates were about at the citywide average, with one school above. All schools, however, had percentages of children eligible for free lunches that exceeded the citywide average and also were comparable to the other two demonstration project areas.

Administrativeoutputs were moderate in the Two Bridges project schools--somewhat better than those in Ocean Hill but not nearly as good as those in IS 201--and they were at about the citywide average. In 1964-1965 only one of the three schools in this project was overutilized, and two schools were underutilized by 1966. One school was only 72 per cent utilized and continues to be so. The proportion of substandard rooms in use was above the citywide average and greater than in the other two projects. All schools in 1964-1965 were at or below the city average for student-teacher ratio, but two of them increased the ratio by 1966. Only one school was above the city average in proportion of teachers having three or more years of experience; in this factor Two Bridges, although better than Ocean Hill, fell behind the IS 201 project. Its proportion of teachers with fourteen or more years' experience was well below both the city average and the IS 201 project average. One school was above the city average in percentage of regular teachers, one was below, and one had no regular teachers. Class size was the largest in this project, compared to the other two, and only one school fell below the citywide average. Per-pupil expenditures were at about the citywide average--one school was higher, one school was average, and two were slightly below. Expenditures were greater than in Ocean Hill but substantially below the IS 201 project area. The instructional pupil ratio was below the citywide average in all schools, more favorable than in Ocean Hill, but considerably higher than in the IS 201 project.

In 1964, pupil outcomes, although substantially below the citywide average, were better than in the other two projects, but only by a month or two at the third-grade level. Pupil outcomes ranged from six to eight months behind the city average. By 1967, mean scores had improved so that no school was more than six months behind the city average and two schools were only a month or two below. Although elementary schools in the Two Bridges area continued to produce the highest mean reading scores of those in all three projects, by April, 1968, three schools showed decreases in their reading scores at the third-grade level of two or three months and one school had increased by one month.

The three demonstration groups, then, were attempting to educate children most of whom were economically disadvantaged, generally in segregated schools (with the exception of Two Bridges), and showed a great degree of transiency. Administrative outputs varied from quite limited in Ocean Hill-Brownsville to quite generous in IS 201. However, in terms of reading achievement, all student outcomes were well below the city average and even lower when compared to the national norms. When the improvement came in 1967, it was too little and too late. It is no wonder, then, that parents and community leaders began to seek more influence in the schools. If community control seems to them the only means to achieve this end, they will continue to demand community control in order to obtain better educational outcomes for their children.

CHAPTER V

THE COMMUNITIES IN THE THREE DEMONSTRATION PROJECTS

The first section of this chapter defines the elementary school subcommunities of the demonstration projects in terms of their ethnicity, socio-economic factors, education, residential patterns, and school population, as derived from documents published by the U. S. Bureau of the Census for 1960. All these factors help to describe the kinds of parents, families, and community residents that provide the human input into each subsystem or educational arena, as well as to describe the kinds of settings in which each of the thirteen schoolhouses functions.

Not only do socio-economic factors affect the design and substance of public policy, but they also affect the responses to these policies in terms of acceptance, indifference, or resistance. Furthermore, ethnicity, socio-economic status, and patterns of living may help determine the strategy or tactics of resistance chosen by those upon whom public policy has an impact.

Reactions of the various subcommunities in New York City to desegregation, decentralization, and community control vary in many ways, depending on the kind of subcommunity that is responding. The social and economic factors provide only a part of the necessary explanation, but are not sufficient in themselves to provide a definitive explanation for reactions. Any comprehensive explanation of beliefs, attitudes, and behavior about the schools, their administration, and who should control them must include an account of the actual and perceived conditions in the schoolhouse (already discussed in the previous chapter), as well as the political climate, organizational arrangements, and kinds of experiences that the community has undergone (these are discussed briefly in the second section of this chapter).

Ethnicity

Ethnically, the project areas appear homogeneous to the outsider. There are, however, some important variations among them.

Race

With the exception of three subcommunities in the IS 201 project area, all other subcommunities in the three demonstration project districts could be characterized as racially mixed in 1960. They were, however, predominantly Negro and Puerto Rican except in the Two Bridges area. Only three of the thirteen demonstration project elementary school subcommunities had populations of 50 per cent or more white (see Table V.1); none of them approached the citywide average of 78 per cent white. The subcommunities in the IS 201 demonstration district had the lowest percentages of whites, three of them registering less than 5 per cent. In 1960 Ocean Hill-Brownsville was about one-third white, with the exception of one subcommunity which was about three-fifths white. Two Bridges had the largest percentage of whites (over 50 per cent) and a large proportion of other races (mainly orientals).

Eight of the thirteen schools had larger proportions of Puerto Ricans than the citywide average of 8 per cent. The largest proportion of Puerto Ricans lived in the Two Bridges area, where they comprised about one-third of the population. Each of the other project areas had one subcommunity with a large proportion (about one-third) of Puerto Ricans, although neither could be characterized as heavily Puerto Rican in composition.

The Negro population in eleven of the thirteen subcommunities substantially surpassed the citywide average of 14 per cent. In 1960 three of the subcommunities--all in the IS 201 area--were over 85 per cent black. All three schools having percentages of Negroes below the city average were in the Two Bridges area.

The greatest change in racial composition from 1950 to 1960 occurred in the Ocean Hill-Brownsville area, where four subcommunities experienced an increase of at least one-quarter to one-half in their Negro population.

National Origin

Since most of the school subcommunities were largely Negro or Puerto Rican, they generally fell below the citywide average of 49 per cent of foreign stock. The two exceptions occurred in the Two Bridges area, where there were not only a large percentage of foreign stock (over one-half) but nearly one-half of that foreign stock was foreign-born. The only country represented in proportions greater than the citywide averages was Italy. Five school subcommunities (two in Two Bridges, three in Ocean Hill) had 20 per cent or more Italians, well above the city average of 13 per cent.

V. 1

TABLE V.1

RACIAL COMPOSITION OF DEMONSTRATION PROJECT SUBCOMMUNITIES (IN PER CENTS)

School	District	White	Other	Puerto Rican	Negro	Change to Negro,'50-'60
(Citywide average)		78	1	8	14	4.5
126	Two B	70	12	12	7	4
155	OH-B	63	0	9	28	18
42	Two B	50	23	23	4	2
1	Two B	47	16	29	16	7
73	OH-B	47	0	7	45	40
2	Two B	37	13	44	13	9
137	Oh-B	36	1	4	60	52
144	OH-B	29	1	29	41	29
39	IS 201	28	0	33	38	20
87	OH-B	24	0	14	62	32
24	IS 201	5	2	8	86	6
133	IS 201	3	0	0	97	1
68	IS 201	0	0	2	98	-1

Socio-Economic Status

Income, occupation, and education--the major components of socio-economic status--were lower in all the demonstration project subcommunities than the city averages (see Table V.2).

Income

Not one of the demonstration project subcommunities had an average income equal to or above the city median of $6,091. The highest incomes were reported for the Ocean Hill area, but all of them were between $4,000 and $5,100. The Two Bridges area had the greatest spread of average incomes, ranging from $3,556 to $4,883. Not one subcommunity's average income in the IS 201 area exceeded $4,000. In addition, in all the demonstration project subcommunities at least one-third of the family incomes were under $4,000, with six having 50 per cent or more families in this bracket. The citywide average of families under $4,000 was 25 per cent. Finally, not one subcommunity reached the city average of 19 per cent of families with average incomes over $10,000. In fact, the highest proportion in any area was 8 per cent--in Ocean Hill.

Occupation

The percentages of white-collar workers in an area, although not definitive, may be used as a gross measure of occupational status. In the demonstration project subcommunities the proportion of white-collar workers was far below the city average of 32 per cent. Ten of the thirteen subcommunities actually had percentages of less than half the city average. Also, the demonstration project subcommunities had higher percentages of females in the labor force than did the city at large. The city average was 40 per cent of the females in the labor force, whereas in nine of the subcommunities the averages were higher. Three of the four school subcommunities with lower percentages were in the Two Bridges area; only one was in IS 201.

Education

The average for years of education completed in the demonstration project subcommunities fell below the citywide median in number of years completed. The subcommunities had larger than average proportions of people with less than four years of education, had fewer high school graduates, and also were below the city average in percentages of those who had attended or completed college. None of the subcommunities even approached the city median of 10.1 years of education. The average range of education in the subcommunities went from 9.0 years in an Ocean Hill-Brownsville area to 7.0 years in a Two Bridges subcommunity. The Ocean Hill subcommunities had the narrowest range in educational levels, whereas the Two Bridges area had the widest.

All subcommunities except one in Ocean Hill had percentages of population with four years or less education, or greater than the city

TABLE V.2

SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS (BY RANK ORDER) OF COMMUNITIES IN DEMONSTRATION PROJECTS

			Income		Occupation			Education				
School	District	Average Family Income	% Under $4,000	% Over $10,000	% Wht Collar Workers	% Fmls in Lbr Force	Average Yrs of Educa'n	% 4 Yr/ Less	%4 Yrs High School	% College or More	% 1-3 Yrs College	% Some College
(Citywide average)		$6,091	25	19	32	40	10.1	11	22	8	7	15
137	OH-B	5,105	35	8	19	48	9.0	10	16	2	6	8
155	OH-B	5,011	35	8	16	37	8.6	18	17	2	3	4
73	OH-B	4,900	36	8	16	41	8.7	14	16	1	4	5
126	Two B	4,883	38	7	24	47	8.6	24	18	5	4	9
87	OH-B	4,491	43	6	11	43	8.5	19	15	1	3	4
1	Two B	4,297	45	4	17	25	8.7	22	17	3	2	5
144	OH-B	4,111	48	3	14	43	8.5	22	15	2	3	5
133	IS 201	4,006	50	5	16	49	8.6	20	19	1	2	3
42	Two B	3,877	52	4	11	38	7.0	38	9	1	0	4
24	IS 201	3,729	56	4	14	47	8.5	18	16	1	2	3
68	IS 201	3,711	56	3	14	51	8.6	15	16	1	2	4
2	Two B	3,556	60	3	14	28	7.0	37	8	2	4	6
39	IS 201	3,483	61	3	11	32	7.9	24	10	2	1	3

average of 11 per cent. Two Bridges had by far the largest proportion in this category (over one-quarter), whereas Ocean Hill had the smallest. Moreover, none of the subcommunities included high school graduates in proportions equal to the city average of 22 per cent. Two Bridges was the most diverse; its subcommunities had proportions of high school graduates ranging from 8 to 18 per cent. A very small percentage of the demonstration projects' populations were college graduates or postgraduates. An average of 8 per cent of the city population had attained this level of education, whereas 5 per cent was the greatest percentage in any of the demonstration project subcommunities. Six of them had a 1 per cent proportion. Again, the communities in Two Bridges showed the greatest variety, including one subcommunity with 5 per cent of more college graduates and one with only 1 per cent. Small percentages of the project areas' populations had completed one to three years of college. The range went from 0 to 6 per cent, whereas the city average in this category was 7 per cent. Finally, all the subcommunities had average percentages of those with any college education that were substantially lower than the city average of 15 per cent. The range of the demonstration project subcommunities included a low of 3 per cent and a high of 9 per cent. The largest percentages in this category occurred in the Two Bridges and Ocean Hill areas.

Residential Patterns

Along with socio-economic status lower than that of the average city resident, the demonstration project populations also owned less property and occupied housing that was less sound, deteriorated, and more dilapidated than the average housing in New York City (see Table V. 3). All of these facts were reflected in rentals that were lower than the average city rent. Moreover, because these areas generally included a large Negro population, the segregation index[1] was substantially lower than that of the city at large. Finally, although there was greater mobility among the residents of these areas than in the city at large, that mobility generally was within the city itself rather than to and from places outside the metropolis.

Housing

Only one of the thirteen subcommunities equaled the city's average home ownership of 21 per cent. Nine of the subcommunities were substantially below the average, ranging from 1 to 9 per cent ownership.

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[1] This segregation index is adapted from the one developed by Karl and Alma Taeuber, Negroes in Cities (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1965).

TABLE V.3

RESIDENTIAL PATTERNS AND HOUSING CONDITIONS IN SUBCOMMUNITIES OF DEMONSTRATION PROJECTS

School	District	% Owner Occupied	% Sound Housing Units	% Deteriorating Hous'g Units	% Dilapidated H's'g Units	Average Monthly Rent	% Negro Housing by Block	Index of Segregation
(Citywide average)		21	75	12	3	$65		74
155	OH-B	21	79	47	4	54	34	10
73	OH-B	19	86	13	1	57	39	35
137	OH-B	18	78	22	1	61	63	11
87	OH-B	12	86	14	1	55	59	4
144	OH-B	9	70	29	3	55	45	16
133	IS 201	3	52	38	10	54	94	16
24	IS 201	3	35	48	17	54	83	19
1	Two B	3	83	12	4	57	18	36
68	IS 201	3	52		8	57	96	3
39	IS 201	2	36	44	20	47	28	24
2	Two B	1	60	20	20	48	18	18
42	Two B	1	39	30	31	38	23	35

The remaining four subcommunities, all in Ocean Hill, ranged from 12 to 21 per cent home ownership. The city at large has an 85 per cent average of sound housing units; eleven of the demonstration project subcommunities fall below this average. Ocean Hill had relatively sound housing, ranging from 70 to 86 per cent, whereas only one-half to one-third of the housing in the IS 201 area was sound. The Two Bridges subcommunities showed enormous variety in the proportions of sound housing units--from 39 to 83 per cent. The subcommunities as a whole also included a wide range in the proportion of deteriorated housing units, although again twelve of the thirteen subcommunities had more deteriorated housing than the city average of 12 per cent. The largest proportion of deterioration was in the IS 201 subcommunities, with Ocean Hill following, and Two Bridges showing the smallest proportions. Furthermore, nine of the subcommunities showed percentages of dilapidated housing in excess of the city average of 3 per cent. Substantial proportions of dilapidatedhousing (from 8 to 31 per cent) existed in both the Two Bridges and IS 201 project areas. Ocean Hill's subcommunities were either average or below in this characteristic.

Average monthly rental was below the citywide average of $65 in all project subcommunities, ranging from $38 to $61. Most subcommunities fell within a few dollars of each other in average rentals.

The percentage of Negro housing by block reflected the racial composition of the areas. The largest percentages (83 to 96 per cent) occurred in the IS 201 area and the smallest in the Two Bridges area. Because of the large Negro population in most of the subcommunities, the segregation indices of these areas were substantially lower than that of the city at large (74 per cent). The highest indices were in the Two Bridges area, which means that the whites in these areas tended to aggregate and were segregated from the blacks. On the other hand, three subcommunities in Ocean Hill had very low segregation indices, showing that blacks and whites generally were interspersed in those areas.

Mobility

Five of the demonstration project subcommunities showed percentages of people who had been living in the same houses at least ten years that were greater than the city average of 58 per cent. The greatest stability appeared in two subcommunities in the Two Bridges area and the next three were in the IS 201 demonstration district. The other eight subcommunities showed percentages lower than the city average, ranging from 33 per cent in a subcommunity in Two Bridges to 57 per cent in one in Ocean Hill. Of those who were moving around, the largest proportion came from within the central city itself. Actually, seven subcommunities had percentages of population moving within the central city which were lower than the city average of 32 per cent. Six had greater proportions. The two extremes of 24 and 56 per cent occurred within the Two Bridges area.

School Population and Related Characteristics

On the whole, most children in the demonstration project communities were enrolled in the public schools. The more affluent people have a choice among public, private, or parochial schools, whereas the disadvantaged do not. Therefore, the satisfactory functioning of the public schools is of special concern to those communities which depend upon them almost exclusively.

School Population

Generally, parents in the demonstration project subcommunities enrolled their children in the public schools in larger proportions than the citywide average (see Table V.4). They had an average enrollment in kindergarten and elementary schools larger than the citywide average but a smaller enrollment in high school.

Ten subcommunities surpassed the citywide average of 72 per cent public school enrollment. The range for public school enrollment went from 64 per cent in the Ocean Hill-Brownsville area to 95 per cent in one IS 201 subcommunity. The largest proportions in public school came from the IS 201 subcommunities. By and large, the demonstration project subcommunities had greater percentages of children in public kindergarten than the city average of 5 per cent. Most of those who did not were in the Ocean Hill area. Eleven of the thirteen subcommunities surpassed the city average of 46 per cent of children enrolled in public elementary schools. The range was wide--from 42 per cent in a subcommunity in Ocean Hill to 70 per cent in one in Two Bridges. On the other hand, only two subcommunities had percentages of children in the public high school exceeding the citywide average of 22 per cent. The smallest percentages enrolled in public high schools occurred in the Two Bridges area, the largest in the IS 201 project area subcommunities.

Related Characteristics

The average age of males in the demonstration project subcommunities was significantly lower than the city median age of 34 years for males. Only one subcommunity in the demonstration project areas had an average age of males exceeding the city median. The range in average age of males went from 25 to 42 years (see Table V.6). There was no pattern of age distribution in any of the project areas.

Comparative Profiles of the Three Demonstration Project Areas

As a means of providing a comprehensive overview of the demonstration project communities, a brief profile of each community follows.

TABLE V. 4

SCHOOL POPULATION AND RELATED CHARACTERISTICS OF DEMONSTRATION PROJECT SUBCOMMUNITIES (IN PER CENTS)

School	District	Public Sch Enrollment	Kinder-garten	Elemen-tary	High School	Average Age, Males
(Citywide average)		72	4	46	22	34.0
133	IS 201	95	7	61	30	28.3
39	IS 39	95	6	69	20	27.0
144	OH-B	94	6	70	18	25.2
24	IS 201	93	8	61	23	27.8
2	Two B	93	8	70	17	25.7
68	IS 201	92	6	65	21	31.0
87	OH-B	90	6	64	21	25.1
42	Two B	90	6	68	17	42.3
1	Two B	79	5	59	14	27.5
73	OH-B	74	3	52	19	28.8
126	Two B	71	4	49	15	31.8
155	OH-B	67	4	45	19	29.1
137	OH-B	64	4	42	18	29.3

Ocean Hill-Brownsville

In 1960 the Ocean Hill project area, overall, was approximately 40 per cent white, 45 per cent Negro, and 15 per cent Puerto Rican (see Table V.5). There were, however, subcommunities in the area with aggregates of whites, some with large Negro settlements, and one with a large proportion of Puerto Ricans. From 1950 to 1960 the predominantly white areas were changing rapidly as whites moved out and Negroes and Puerto Ricans moved in. All subcommunities in the Ocean Hill area had experienced substantial increases in Negro population from 1950 to 1960. A much greater change had occurred in the Ocean Hill area than in the other two project areas.

There were smaller proportions of foreign stock in Ocean Hill than in the city at large. However, larger proportions of the persons of foreign stock in the area were foreign-born than in the city at large. In 1960 Ocean Hill-Brownsville had fewer Jews (as reflected in persons born in the USSR) than the citywide average, but a larger proportion of persons of Italian stock than average in the city at large. As a result of an increase in proportions of Negroes in the Ocean Hill area, the proportion of foreign-born population decreased from 1950 to 1960.

The socio-economic status of Ocean Hill residents was well below city averages, as measured by income, occupation, and education (see Table V.6). The area, however, was somewhat higher in status than either the IS 201 or Two Bridges areas.

Residential patterns in the Ocean Hill area included less home ownership than the city at large but considerably more in the other two project areas (see Table V.7). It included older structures which had higher percentages of deteriorating housing units than the city average and more such units than were in the Two Bridges area but fewer than those in the IS 201 area. There was very little housing designated as dilapidated in the Ocean Hill area, considerably less than in either of the other two areas. Average monthly rents were lower in the area than the citywide average. Rents in the Ocean Hill area were slightly higher than inthe other areas, but there was no significant difference. Segregation, as measured by the segregation index, was considerably lower in the Ocean Hill area than in the city at large, even in a predominantly white subcommunity. Segregation was lower in Ocean Hill than in either of the other two areas. Finally, mobility in the Ocean Hill area was greater than both the citywide average and the degree of mobility in the other two areas. Moreover, there was greater movement of people into Ocean Hill from other parts of the central city than into the other two demonstration project areas.

TABLE V.5

ETHNICITY OF COMMUNITIES IN THE DEMONSTRATION PROJECTS

(IN PER CENTS)

School and District	White	Puerto Rican	Negro	Other Races	Tot Chg Popul'n 50/60	Chg to Negro 50/60	For-eign Stock	Foreign Born/For Stock	USSR	Italy	Chg For Born/ Total Pop
(Citywide average)	78	8	14		99	+4.5	49	41	8	13	- 2
Ocean Hill-Brownsville											
73	47	7	45	0	93	+40	30	43	1	29	- 6
87	24	14	62	0	118	+32	20	50	5	20	-12
137	36	4	60	1	96	+52	24	46	2	13	- 4
144	29	29	41	1	117	+29	26	59	13	2	-21
155	63	9	28	0	90	+18	38	39	1	39	- 6
IS 201											
24	5	8	86	2	95	+ 6	10	58	2	2	- 2
39	28	33	38	0	97	+20	18	55	0	8	-10
68	0	2	98	0	90	- 1	8	46	2	2	+ 4
133	3	0	97	0	93	+ 1	10	55	6	3	+ 4
Two Bridges											
1	47	29	16	9	114	+ 7	41	39	4	20	- 5
2	37	44	13	6	80	+ 9	35	62	9	6	+13
42	50	23	4	23	88	+ 2	57	66	8	15	- 1
126	70	12	7	12	97	+ 4	55	44	7	26	- 1

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TABLE V.6

SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS OF COMMUNITIES IN DEMONSTRATION PROJECTS

	Income			Occupation			Education						
School and District	Average Family Income	% Under $4,000	% Over $10,000	% In Labor Force	% Wht Collar Workers	% Fmls in Lbr Force	Average Yrs of Educ'n	% 4 Yr/ Less	%1-3 Yr/Hgh School	%4Yrs High School	% Col/ More	% 1-3 Yr Coll	% Some Coll
(Citywide average)	$6,091	25	19	79	32	40	10.1	11	20	22	8	7	15
Ocean Hill-Brownsville													
73	4,900	36	8	79	16	41	8.7	14	25	16	1	4	5
87	4,471	43	6	76	11	43	8.5	19	23	15	1	3	4
137	5,105	35	8	82	19	48	9.0	10	26	16	2	6	8
144	4,111	48	3	77	14	43	8.5	22	22	15	2	3	5
155	5,011	35	8	76	16	37	8.6	18	21	17	2	3	5
IS 201													
24	3,729	56	4	78	14	47	8.5	18	22	16	1	2	3
39	3,483	61	3	73	11	32	7.9	24	19	10	2	1	3
68	3,711	56	3	76	14	51	8.6	15	22	16	1	2	3
133	4,006	50	5	78	16	49	8.6	20	21	19	1	2	3
Two Bridges													
1	4,297	45	4	72	17	25	8.7	22	24	17	3	2	5
2	3,556	60	3	72	14	28	7.0	37	14	8	2	4	6
42	3,877	52	4	73	11	33	7.0	33	15	9	1	2	3
126	4,883	38	7	76	24	47	8.6	24	18	18	5	4	9

TABLE V.7

RESIDENTIAL PATTERNS AND HOUSING CONDITIONS IN DEMONSTRATION PROJECT COMMUNITIES (IN PER CENTS)

School and District	Owner Occupied	Renter Occupied	Structures Built 1950 or Later	Deteri-orating Units	Dilapi-dated Units	Sound Units	Average Monthly Rental	Non-white Owners	Non-white Renters	Negro Housing by Block	Segre-gation Index
(Citywide average)	21	75	13	85	12	3	$65	8	15		74
Ocean Hill-Brownsville											
73	19	77	0	86	13	1	$57	48	41	39	35
87	12	89	1	86	14	1	$55	58	61	59	4
137	18	79	0	78	22	1	$61	67	54	63	11
144	9	88	0	70	29	3	$55	56	39	45	16
155	21	75	1	79	47	4	$54	25	26	34	10
IS 201											
24	3	92	0	35	48	17	$54	87	87	83	19
39	2	93	5	36	44	20	$47	1	35	28	24
68	3	93	10	52		8	$57	97	99	96	3
133	3	93	0	52	38	10	$54	93	98	94	16
Two Bridges											
1	3	97	45	83	12	4	$51	1	20	18	36
2	1	97	25	60	20	20	$48	12	19	16	18
42	1	90	8	39	30	31	$33	27	32	23	35
126	3	96	14	74	13	13	$58	0	16	18	14

Substantial proportions of the Ocean Hill school enrollment were in the public schools--more than the city average but less than the other two areas (see Table V.8). A smaller percentage of its children were in the public elementary schools than those of the other areas. Ocean Hill was below the city average in public high school enrollment and between the IS 201 and Two Bridges areas in proportions of enrollment at this level. Finally, the average age of males in Ocean Hill was both below the city average and comparable to the other two areas.

IS 201

The IS 201 demonstration project subcommunities were the most heavily populated by Negroes. With the exception of one subcommunity, the area had very few Puerto Ricans and very few whites. Total population decreased in the area from 1950 to 1960. During this same period there was a greater increase in Negro population than the average city increase, about the same as inthe Two Bridges area, but considerably less than in Ocean Hill.

The average percentages of persons of foreign stock was significantly below the city average and less than in the other two areas. This pattern is to be expected in a predominantly black area. More than one-half of those of foreign stock, however, were foreign-born. The area included fewer Jews and Italians than the city averages.

The socio-economic status of the IS 201 area residents was the lowest of the three areas. Average incomes for residents of its subcommunities were $4,000 or less, considerably lower than the citywide median income and lower than the other two project areas. The average percentages of population in the labor force were below the city average, somewhat higher than in the Two Bridges area, and slightly lower than in Ocean Hill-Brownsville. The proportion of white-collar workers was significantly below the citywide average and consistent with the other two areas. The IS 201 area had average percentages of females in the labor force that were greater than the city average, comparable to Ocean Hill, but greater than the Two Bridges project area.

Average years of education completed were about one and one-half years less than the city median. The educational attainment was slightly lower in this area than in Ocean Hill but higher than in the Two Bridges area. The IS 201 area was significantly lower in its average percentages of population having any college education than the city average. In fact, it had about one-half as many people inthis category as did the other two areas.

Housing in the 201 area was predominantly rental housing. Most of the housing units were built earlier than 1950 and less than one-half of them were sound. Actually, of the three areas, the 201 area had the least amount of sound housing, the greatest amount of deteriorating

TABLE V. 8

SCHOOL POPULATION AND RELATED CHARACTERISTICS OF DEMONSTRATION PROJECT COMMUNITIES (IN PER CENTS)

School and District	Years Minus College	Public School Enrollment	Public Kinder-gartens	Public Elem'y Schools	Public High Schools	All Kinder-gartens	All Ele-mentary Schools	All High Schools	Average Age, Males
(Citywide average)	90	72	5	46	22	6	66	28	34.0
Ocean Hill-Brownsville									
73	96	74	3	52	19	5	69	23	28.8
87	97	90	6	64	21	6	69	22	25.1
137	94	64	4	42	18	7	67	20	29.3
144	97	94	6	70	18	6	75	19	25.2
155	98	67	4	45	19	6	68	26	29.1
IS 201									
24	99	93	8	61	23	8	66	27	27.8
39	97	95	6	69	20	6	73	21	27.0
68	98	92	6	65	21	6	69	25	31.0
133	98	95	7	61	30	7	63	30	28.3
Two Bridges									
1	99	79	5	59	14	6	76	17	27.5
2	98	93	8	70	17	8	75	18	25.7
42	93	90	6	68	17	7	73	20	42.3
126	96	71	4	49	15	5	73	22	31.8

housing, and ranked close to the Two Bridges area with a large proportion of dilapidated housing. Average monthly rent was below the city average, slightly lower than that of Ocean Hill and in overall terms comparable to the rents in Two Bridges. The segregation indices in the 201 area were low--that is, whatever whites lived in the area were fairly well interspersed among the predominantly black population. Finally, stability was greater in the IS 201 area than the citywide average. In three of its four subcommunities there was an average proportion of two-thirds living in the same house for ten years or more. This overall stability was greater than in the Ocean Hill and Two Bridges areas.

Of the three project areas, IS 201 sent the largest proportion of its children to the public schools--considerably above the city average. It had more children in public kindergarten than the other areas, more children in public elementary schools, and more in public high schools. In fact, it was the only area that equaled or exceeded the city average of public high school enrollment. The average age of males in the IS 201 area was below the city average age but comparable to the other areas.

Two Bridges

Of all these project areas, Two Bridges was the most pluralistic. It had the largest percentages of whites, the largest percentages of Puerto Ricans, the only substantial percentage of orientals, and a proportion of Negroes about equal to the citywide average. The total population in the Two Bridges area had decreased from 1950 to 1960, except in one subcommunity. The Negro proportion of the population had increased in the area from 1950 to 1960, but only slightly more than the city at large. Of the three areas, Two Bridges had the largest proportions of people of foreign stock and a slightly larger percentage of foreign-born. It had a proportion of Jewish population that equaled the city average and a proportion of Italians slightly higher than the city average. The percentages of foreign-born in relation to total population decreased in the area from 1950 to 1960 in all but one of its subcommunities.

The Two Bridges area had incomes lower than the city average, lower than those in Ocean Hill, but slightly higher than those in the IS 201 area. However, this area had the greatest diversity among its subcommunities in average incomes. Two Bridges had average proportions in the labor force that were smaller than the city average and less than either of the other two areas. Its average percentage of white-collar workers was considerably lower than the citywide average but slightly higher than the other two project areas. There were fewer females working in this area than in the other two areas and less than the city average.

The average number of years of education completed in the Two Bridges area was considerably less than the city average, ranging from three years to one and one-quarter years less. Again, there were great differences in attainment levels among its four subcommunities. The Two Bridges area had average percentages of those with four years or less education that were considerably higher than the city average and greater than either of the other two areas. It had fewer persons who had finished high school than the other two areas. However, while the Two Bridges area had lower average percentages of persons with some college than the citywide average, it had a larger proportion of these people than the other two areas.

There were very few owner-occupied housing units in the Two Bridges area. Two of its subcommunities contained a high proportion of housing units built in 1950 or later--the largest percentage of any of the three areas. Its housing units were generally less sound than the city average but in better condition than those in IS 201. Of the three areas it contained the smallest average percentages of deteriorating housing units but the largest average percentages of dilapidated units--considerably higher than the citywide average. The average monthly rentals in the Two Bridges area were lower than the city average rental but comparable to those inthe other two project areas. There was less Negro housing by block than in the other areas, as well as comparably higher segregation indices. Stability was higher than the city average in half the Two Bridges subcommunities and lower in the other half. Much of the mobility was intra-city.

The Two Bridges area had higher proportions of its children in the public schools than the city average--higher than Ocean Hill, but lower than IS 201. Its average percentages in the public high schools were lower than the city average and lower than in the other two project areas. The average age of males in the area generally was younger than the city averages but older than those in the other areas.

These, then, were the subcommunities and their residents whose children were to experience a new subsystem approach to education--the demonstration project. How did the various demonstration project leaders and residents respond to this new experience and why?

The Political Climate and Dynamics in the Three Demonstration Project Communities

Most parents and community leaders in the three project areas perceived the educational outcomes of their children as unsatisfactory. They responded to these outcomes, however, in varying political ways. Their patterns of responses were determined in part by the political base of resources, ideologies, strategies, and tactics, as well as the perception by the leadership at the local level of the Board of Education and the larger system. Whatever the responses of the leadership, they were reinforced or deflected by the psychological state prevailing in each local community, as well as by what each brought in political terms to that response.

The first factor to help explain these political variations between the three projects is that two of them, Two Bridges and IS 201, appear to have pluralistic political bases upon which to operate, whereas Ocean Hill does not. In part, these pluralistic political settings appear to be socially determined; for instance, the pluralistic character of Two Bridges is derived from the presence of four major ethnic groups--white, Puerto Rican, black, and oriental. In Two Bridges this ethnic pluralism is supplemented by several viable organizations, both community and social. A somewhat similar condition exists in the IS 201 project area. The clientele of IS 201 is predominantly black, with Puerto Ricans forming the second group. This East Harlem area, while not initially well organized, although it is partially so, is part of Harlem, where a community set of organizations does exist. Harlem is identifiable in its own right with many social, religious, political, and other economic associations providing a diversity of interests and associations. Ocean Hill, on the other hand, has less ethnic balance than Two Bridges to provide for an operational ethnic pluralism, nor is it well organized into various social and political interest groups.

Before the demonstration project was undertaken, the Ocean Hill area was perhaps best characterized as a "power vacuum," a kind of political no-man's-land with little in the way of organization. The area has been changing rapidly within the past five to ten years, from a virtually all-white to a predominantly black one interspersed with some Puerto Rican families.

Psychological differences also are influential between the three areas. The parents of IS 201 and Two Bridges were far more optimistic about the future as they believed their schools will improve during the next few years. The parents in Ocean Hill were not only more pessimistic, but also alienated rather than apathetic, for many of them moved into the district with aspirations of improving their lot. These upwardly mobile people were able to move out of the hard-core disadvantaged areas into Ocean Hill which, although not a pleasant place to live, certainly is not as depressed as nearby Bedford-Stuyvesant or Harlem. Their disappointment at seeing the area change so rapidly into another Negro community encouraged an alienation compounded by hostility and bitterness rather than into apathy or acceptance of the situation. The IS 201 community in East Harlem, on the other hand, appears to have a more apathetic population, for the large proportion of its hard-core problem families have found few effective ways to change the deteriorating conditions that are the area's way of life.

Therefore, as the three demonstration project areas began to grapple with their dissatisfactions with the greater system, they brought to that interaction some variation in political bases, pluralistic versus elites operating in a power vacuum, as well as populations characterized by different psychological conditions--apathy, involvement, or alienation.

One important question explored in this study is why the Ocean Hill leaders--and not those of Two Bridges and IS 201--decided to use the confrontation model and were able to prevail with this strategy in the local community. The Two Bridges leaders, who made little use of the confrontation technique, apparently preferred to stay within the system. One reason for their preference was the nearly even balance between the four ethnic types. Another explanation was that the subcommunities, especially the Chinese, have been living side by side for a number of year within the system, thus establishing an informal arrangement of playing routine roles in the decision-making process. It is more difficult to account for the differences between Ocean Hill and IS 201, especially as Ocean Hill uses a more extreme and more sustained model of confrontation than IS 201. Evidently the East Harlem community learned or decided to use the intra-system rules of the game and manipulate these to achieve what it wanted. In part, it was successful because Ocean Hill confronted first and the Board of Education began to learn from the Ocean Hill confrontation, thus being able to anticipate the demands of IS 201 and to accommodate them.

However, the major part of the answer still lies in the pluralistic political base. In both IS 201 and Two Bridges there were viable contending forces. In Ocean Hill-Brownsville, on the other hand, initially there was a power vacuum, devoid of contending forces, in which a Rhody McCoy and a few of his colleagues could mobilize the anger of an alienated community, as well as provide direction, resources, and skills to the politically relevant who sought immediate resolution of their problems. McCoy projected enough charismatic leadership to mobilize the community into support for him and his inner clique in their contention against the remote "white racist" bureaucracy. Not only were the residents disappointed at seeing their community deteriorate, for five years they also had watched their schools "floating" from inclusion in different local school districts, thereby providing little or no representative leadership on any local school board. In effect, they were isolated and unable to establish effective connections with their LSB or district superintendent to correct poor buildings, unsatisfactory programs, and inadequate staff.

Therefore, it is relatively easy for a small group to move in and dominate the political setting under these conditions, for such a clique is relatively free to develop a number of authoritative ways to insist upon and secure levels of loyalty. Few competitors are ready, willing, or able to challenge it. As a matter of fact, the visibility of Herman Ferguson and other black militants, such as the Black Panthers, even if they do not completely dominate the area, makes any middle class or moderate response to the situation quite different.

This is not to suggest that there was or is no contention within IS 201 and Two Bridges, but inner cliques moved more cautiously there because others were waiting and anxious to take over. Therefore, they could not turn all their attention and energy to attacking the outside system. As a matter of fact, it was necessary to keep the outside system somewhat ameliorated so that it would have no reason to enter and exacerbate the fragmentation that already existed. Thus, leadership in IS 201 and Two Bridges found itself between two forces--internal opponents, who often effectively challenge legitimization among the constituents, and external regulators, who can effectively challenge legitimization in the larger system by delaying, denying, or taking away their grants of authority to run the schools.

In fact, competitive parent leaders in Two Bridges and IS 201 had direct access to members of the Board of Education in order to lodge complaints against project leaders who moved arbitrarily. For example, when the program honoring Malcolm X in 1968 was approved by a vocal faction of parents within the project, the Board of Education attempted to modify the program by limiting it to an afterhours activity. When the project leaders proceeded to ignore that advice and the press played up the ensuing controversy, the Board of Education and the bureaucracy reasserted their authority over the project at the insistence of parents who opposed the project leaders. More generally, the Board of Education considered that the poverty workers were the provocateurs who were instigating insurrections in the demonstration projects. Clearly, this was how the establishment perceived the anti-poverty operation in IS 201, as well as the parent development program (PDP) which had politicized parents in Two Bridges, and the other components of neighborhood development and poverty programs. These groups reached certain levels of knowledge about the system and developed skills in articulating demands for change, so that countervailing forces were in operation.

Virtually none of these developments occurred in Ocean Hill. In fact, not until the fall of 1968, in the middle of the strike and after the youngsters had lost thirty-eight days of school because of the teacher transfer or dismissal controversy, did Assemblyman Samuel Wright, a member of the Ocean Hill-Brownsville project board, circulate a petition designed to challenge the inner clique that was running the project by asking for a reelection. His move, however, was suspect by the Board of Education, which looked at Wright as an opportunist and asked, "Why was this not done before?" Wright's petition still has not been acted upon. By the time it was circulated, events had gone too far for the Board of Education to question the representativeness of the Ocean Hill LPB, for it had been legitimized among its constituents and clients, where the real power lay.

It is important to note that the Ocean Hill project board appears to be relating to and involving the poor, more so than the other two projects, which have active anti-poverty projects in their areas. McCoy has launched a struggle with the middle class, which has tried once and may try again to remove him. The middle class parents cannot tolerate loss of instructional hours for their children or contention with their teachers, whom they do not distrust as much as other groups may. Thus far, McCoy's operation reaches far closer to the poor. The Ocean Hill project eventually may turn into a classic struggle between the poor and the middle class. At the moment the latter have no allies at the Board of Education.

Actually, the confrontation in Ocean Hill may have assisted the IS 201 leaders to consolidate their positions to the extent that they took a stand in PS 39 in opposition to the Board of Education's schedule on the make-up days that resulted from the strike settlement agreement. In addition to their conviction that make-up time was unnecessary for their students, since the schools were open during the strike, the IS 201 leadership may have undertaken the move as a symbolic gesture to inform the larger community that they were as much a part of the move for community control as Ocean Hill-Brownsville. This dispute, therefore, should be perceived not as an isolated event but rather as part of a pattern to establish the identity and authority of the demonstration projects. However, the Ocean Hill leaders expressed their disappointment at receiving only token support from either IS 201 or Two Bridges at the time of their greatest need in the contest with the UFT during the strike. As a matter of fact, the mass media publicized Two Bridges as a quiet island in the midst of controversy and certainly not supportive of Ocean Hill, the major confronter. Similar articles began to appear about IS 201.

But there were other major factors to account for the different patterns of response in the three projects. While the pluralistic base--social and political--is important, the ideologies and strategies and tactics of the leadership are also important. In IS 201 and Two Bridges, there were (and are) not only the constraints of pluralism just listed, but there did not seem to be the same degree of willingness among those leaderships as in Ocean Hill to confront the system over a vital issue nor the readiness to carry that confrontation to the same lengths.

Thus, the mobilizing technique varied among the three projects. For example, the chairman of the local project board in Ocean Hill-Brownsville is Rev. Herbert C. Oliver, a member of Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Oliver, who participated in the Birmingham bus strike, does not or prefers not to separate his public role from his private role of maintaining moral conscience. He perceives the larger white society as perpetrating genocide upon black children and believes that there can be no compromising with the devil. Oliver is willing to support confrontation strategies that go beyond those of IS 201 and certainly of Two Bridges. Working in conjunction with Oliver is the unit administrator, Rhody McCoy, who, although not taking quite as moralistic a position, nevertheless holds firmly in his mind a perception of the larger white society, certainly the white-dominated bureaucracy, as conspiratorial. He has enough managerial and administrative experience to know how the white system works. He believes the bureaucrats do not consider themselves bound by regulations and that when they want to change the rules, they do. He himself has witnessed considerable deviation from the regulations on the part of whites. Therefore, when they do not allow him to deviate, it only proves his theory of the white bureaucracy conspiring against the blacks and contributes to his strong feeling of animosity. It is important to remember that during this time the confrontation at Columbia University provided a vivid, well-publicized model. During the spring of 1968 the confrontations at both Columbia and Ocean Hill occurred simultaneously.

A third influential leader, Father John Powis, is a Catholic priest who is as zealous as Oliver in following his own moral conscience. The three men form a combination that was--and is--willing to go to great lengths in confronting the system. Their readiness for confrontation is based partially on their sense of support among the politically relevant of the community, however small in number. On the other hand, in IS 201 and Two Bridges other people are prepared to compete for leadership positions. Since those in control do not have that strong a support structure, they really cannot risk a confrontation, even though they would prefer one.

The leaders of Ocean Hill are more messianic in character than those of the other projects, a trait which cements together the local project board members and the administrative staff. The actions of these two groups of leaders were--and are--contrapuntal in IS 201 and counterproductive in Two Bridges, rather than reinforcing as in Ocean Hill. Instead of a cohesive willingness to confront, there is a self-hypnotic quality in the Ocean Hill development and an intense insistence upon loyalty from the staff, leaders, and community. However, there are more militant females among the participants in Ocean Hill than in the other two projects. In Two Bridges the major spokesmen are females, but IS 201 is a male operation and one has no sense of female participation. During the Ocean Hill confrontation, the women responded to the messianic atmosphere, feeling the need to follow and to play their appropriate roles, to protect, to shriek in high-pitched tones. They noisily protested situations perpetrated by what they believed to be the dominant and sinister white society and their agents, who were engaged in a grand conspiratorial design to annihilate their black children.

After some early skirmishes in the fall of 1967 between the projects and the teachers, Shanker and the UFT tried unsuccessfully to develop a labor-management relations or bargaining arrangement. They were more or less able to achieve this in IS 201 and Two Bridges but absolutely unsuccessful in Ocean Hill. One explanation may lie in the cultural predisposition of the predominantly Jewish teaching staff to oppose the really nonpedagogical, openly political objectives of this messianic movement. Ocean Hill is attempting to create a separate and different culture. We are witnessing a classic and substantial change in the requested use of public funds. Earlier migrations of newcomers to America and to New York used the school system and public funds to "socialize" and Americanize their youngsters. In Ocean Hill-Brownsville what is evolving is not only a separatist doctrine but also a determined effort not to Americanize the children or make them white but to strengthen their sense of black identity, the salient variable in their lives. Thus, there is significant and pervasive change in educational philosophy, one that challenges the pedagogical integrity of the present professional staff and violates their sense of the traditional use of the schools.

Not only is the union reacting as it recognizes that the movement toward community control allows no common ground or procedures for negotiation, without which severe conflict develops and leads toward social revolution, but Shanker understands that this messianic movement can spread like wildfire and sweep through an alienated black community in a city like New York. The leadership of the union has been operating on a rational model, but it is coming to recognize the strength of irrational forces in urban politics and to use it in its own battle for survival.

CHAPTER VI

PARENTS IN THE THREE DEMONSTRATION PROJECTS ASSESS THEIR SCHOOLS

Introduction

Many statements, demands, and prescriptions have dealt with the conditions and proposals for change in the education of the children in the disadvantaged areas of New York City. Few attempts, however, have been made to measure systematically how the parents view the schools and what role they do or would like to play in shaping their children's education. Although the observers and critics of the schools and the educational establishment itself have been arguing loud and long with one another, they do not have enough systematically collected knowledge of how the parents and the community assess the present conditions of the schools and what they believe can and ought to be done to improve them.

There have been many questions asking who speaks for the best interests of the child--professional educators, selected policy-makers, articulate community representatives, and/or the parents. The controversy of the past two years over the three demonstration projects has revealed the intensity and diversity of views that exist and must be understood as proposals for reform and change of urban education are developed. The views of the parents, who have the greatest stake in the educational system, are most often stated by representatives who may or may not speak for the parents.

In order to gather information to help develop a better understanding of the situation, a survey of parent attitudes toward the schools was conducted in May, 1968, eight months after the creation of the three demonstration projects. Some 600 parents were interviewed: 212 in Ocean Hill-Brownsville, 211 in Two Bridges, and 198 in the IS 201 district.

In each of the three project areas covered in this study, three sub-areas were selected, each comprising a single public school district. The block locations of the nine sub-areas were determined by comparing the school district maps with census maps. Then the 1960 count of the number of households for each block was used to construct the sample frames. A systematic sample of six or seven sample points per sub-area was drawn.

In each sample point selected, the interviewer had a carefully drawn route map with a clear starting-point and a route direction. She was instructed to begin at the starting point and conduct an interview in each household in which an eligible respondent (male head of household or wife of a male head of household in which there was a child eighteen years of age or younger in the public schools) was found at home. In each sample point, the quota was eleven completed interviews, seven with females and four with males. This quota was based on the best estimate of the ratio of male heads of household to wives and female heads of household.

Each project area had approximately the same number of interviews and all interviews counted equally toward the total. Consequently, each area contributed the same weight toward the total results.

Socio-Economic Characteristics of the Parents

In socio-economic terms, all three demonstration projects are located in disadvantaged areas of New York City. The racial composition of the parents interviewed varies in the three districts, with Ocean Hill-Brownsville and the East Harlem areas being predominantly Negro (see Table (VI.1). Only 1 per cent of the parents in IS 201 are white, as are 4 per cent in Ocean Hill-Brownsville and 12 per cent in Two Bridges. The Two Bridges area is the most racially mixed, with Puerto Ricans constituting nearly half the community and orientals 16 per cent.[1] A quarter of the parents in Ocean Hill-Brownsville are Puerto Ricans.

Relatively few of the respondents were born in New York City. Nearly three-fourths of the Negro parents came up from the South, while two-fifths of the Two Bridges respondents were born in Puerto Rico. Therefore, the population was quite mobile, with two-fifths having lived in their current neighborhoods for less than five years and only one-fourth for more than ten years. Ocean Hill-Brownsville had the highest proportion (56 per cent) of short-term residents, while Two Bridges had the highest proportion of long-term residents.

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[1] Throughout this discussion the oriental parents have been included in the white sample. This explains the "white/other" entry in the tables.

TABLE VI.1

SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF PARENTS
(IN PER CENTS)

Socio-Economic Factor	Total Sample (N=622)	Ocean Hill (N=212)	Two Bridges (N=212)	IS 201 (N=198)
Race/Ethnic				
Negro (N=345)	58	71	23	81
Puerto Rican (N=176)	29	24	46	17
White (N=35)	6	4	12	1
Oriental (N=35)	6	1	16	--
Level of Education				
8th grade or less	37	29	41	30
9th-11th grade	37	39	31	41
High school	26	27	25	25 - 26
Some college	3	5	2	3
Income				
Under $5,000	54	54	43	66
$5,000-$7,---	34	33	45	25
$7,000 or more	22 - 12	13	12	9
Occupation				
White-collar	13	16	13	8
Service	17	14	20	15
Skilled	20	27	22	11
Unskilled	13	13	12	14
Other	9	6	13	8
No answer	28	24	20	44
Birthplace				
New York City	19	18	24	14
South	42	51	13	62
Puerto Rico	27	21	44	15
Other	12	10	19	10

As for the educational background of parents, three-fourths of the total sample did not complete high school. Puerto Rican parents were less educated than either Negroes or whites, which may account for the fact that four-fifths of the Two Bridges parents had less than an eighth-grade education. Half the parents reported total family incomes of less than $5,000, while almost one-fourth (22 per cent) had incomes under $3,000, the poverty level. Only 2 per cent of the population had incomes of $10,000 or more. Puerto Ricans in our sample earned less than Negroes; Negroes earned less thanwhites. Most of the wage earners held skilled, service, and unskilled jobs, with only 13 per cent employed in white-collar jobs.

Assessment of Neighborhood Problems and Schools

Despite the heavy emphasis on education in the demonstration project areas, schools were not considered the most important community problem. In fact, they ranked as the fifth most important problem facing all the residents. In the opinion of the parents, the schools are simply part of a long list of the problems that afflict their neighborhoods. It is unfortunate, therefore, that the nation has not yet developed a more comprehensive approach to the many problems of the disadvantaged areas. Perhaps the Model Cities programs will provide better answers to crime, dope addiction, housing, the need for more police protection, all of which were cited as more important than education (see Table VI.2). In the Two Bridges area education did not even appear among the top five problems, although two-fifths of the Ocean Hill-Brownsville parents cited schools, as did one-fourth of the IS 201 parents. The public controversy in these two areas may have emphasized education and made it a more salient issue. Apparently political activists and others view education as one public institution upon which the community can have some effect. The professional educator has established a long tradition of trying, and successfully so in the middle class areas, to relate the school to the community it serves.

One-half of the parents in the total sample maintained that their neighborhood is "not as good" a place to live as it was a few years ago. The residents of Ocean Hill-Brownsville were the most critical of their neighborhood (three-fifths as compared to half of those in the IS 201 district and a third of those in Two Bridges). Four-fifths of the IS 201 parents expressed considerable dissatisfaction with their neighborhood as a place for their children to grow up; two-fifths in Two Bridges and two-thirds in Ocean Hill expressed similar dissatisfaction.

Few parents in the total sample (only one-fifth) believed that the schools in their neighborhoods have improved in the last few years, while two-fifths thought that the schools are not as good as they were in the past (see Table VI.3). The residents of Ocean Hill-Brownsville

TABLE VI.2

FIVE MOST SERIOUS NEIGHBORHOOD PROBLEMS BY DISTRICT AND RACE (IN RANK ORDER)

Total Sample	Ocean Hill	Two Bridges	IS 201	Negro	Puerto Rican	White/Other
Crime, robberies (55) vandalism	Crime, robberies (57), vandalism	Crime, robberies, vandalism (60)	Addition, dope (62)	Crime, robberies (55), vandalism	Crime, robberies, vandalism (57)	Crime, robberies, vandalism (54)
Addiction, dope (44)	Decent housing, slums (49)	More police protection (47)	Decent housing, slums (54)	Decent housing (48), slums	Addiction, dope (45)	Decent housing, slums (39)
Decent housing, slums (47)	Better schools, education (39)	Addiction, dope (44)	Crime, robberies (47), vandalism	Addiction, dope (46)	More police protection (39)	More police protection (39)
More police protection (32)	Clean up streets, garbage (29)	Decent housing, slums (22)	Better schools, education (26)	Better schools, education (28)	Decent housing, slums (31)	Addition, dope (37)
Better schools, education (26)	Addition, dope (28)	Jobs, employment (18)	Jobs, employment (23)	More police protection (27)	Jobs, employment (24)	Better schools, education (24)

TABLE VI.3

PARENTS' ASSESSMENT OF PAST AND FUTURE SCHOOL IMPROVEMENT (IN PER CENTS)

	Total Sample	Ocean Hill	Two Bridges	IS 201	Negro	Puerto Rican	White/ Others
Past Improvement							
Better	19	8	32	18	17	23	26
Same	30	19	40	39	25	38	29
Not as good	42	61	23	42	47	31	40
Not sure	9	12	5	10	11	8	6
Future Improvement							
Get better	30	20	31	40	33	24	29
Stay same	22	20	27	18	16	32	23
Get worse	26	38	16	24	31	17	27
Not sure	22	22	26	17	20	27	21

were most critical of their schools; Negroes generally were more critical than either whites or Puerto Ricans. As for the future, most parents were pessimistic about the possibility of improving their schools. Scarcely one-third felt that the schools would get better, while almost one-fourth thought they would stay the same and still another fourth believed they would grow worse. The parents in Ocean Hill were the most pessimistic; those in IS 201 were the most optimistic. Negro and white parents were almost equally divided in their predictions of improvement or worsening of the schools.

Virtually no parent believed that the Negro child is receiving a better education than the white child. In fact, two-fifths believed that the whites are receiving a better education, while another two-fifths thought Negro and white children received education of about the same quality. Slightly more than half the parents of Ocean Hill-Brownsville and IS 201 students believed that the whites' education is better, while only 16 per cent of the Two Bridges parents agreed.

Most striking, however, was the fact that three-fifths of the Negro parents believed that education for the white child is superior, while two-thirds of the white and oriental and three-fifths of the Puerto Rican parents saw no difference in the quality of education received by the various races. Only in the "mixed" school district--Two Bridges--did more parents believe that the education is equal for all children than that white children receive a better education. The reasons most frequently mentioned for considering that whites receive a better education were that "white schools have better teachers" (28 per cent) and "white children have better schools" (19 per cent).

Educational Facilities, Services, and Programs

The educational programs receiving the most positive ratings from all groups of parents were the special programs for the disadvantaged, such as Operation Head Start, about which well over half the parents expressed a favorable opinion (see Table VI.4). The conditions of the school buildings and the quality of textbooks and counseling were viewed favorably by half the parents; lunches, curricula, and programs for the gifted child merited less approval. The parents in the Ocean Hill-Brownsville and IS 201 districts were more critical of the schools than the parents in Two Bridges. Negroes were more critical than Puerto Ricans; Puerto Ricans were more critical than whites. The parents who were most critical of schools also were those who contended that the community should have more influence[1] in running the neighborhood schools.

When asked about the rigidity of the curriculum and the freedom of teachers to adapt the curriculum to suit different classes, half

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[1] For full description of influence, see page 142.

TABLE VI.4

PARENTS' ASSESSMENT OF SCHOOL FACILITIES, SERVICES, AND PROGRAMS (IN PER CENTS)

	Textbooks	Buildings	Lunches	Counseling	Head Start etc.	Programs for Gifted	Curriculum
Total Sample							
Positive*	51	52	44	48	59	41	42
Negative**	38	46	46	33	17	22	47
Not sure	11	2	10	19	24	37	11
Ocean Hill							
Positive*	42	38	36	42	51	36	29
Negative**	53	59	51	40	20	24	60
Not sure	5	3	13	18	29	40	11
Two Bridges							
Positive*	62	68	56	56	60	38	50
Negative**	22	31	33	23	12	19	33
Not sure	16	1	11	21	28	43	17
IS 201							
Positive*	52	52	40	57	67	49	46
Negative**	40	46	54	35	17	23	49
Not sure	8	2	6	8	16	28	5
Negro							
Positive*	43	45	39	47	63	44	37
Negative**	47	52	53	37	18	24	56
Not sure	10	3	8	16	19	32	7
Puerto Rican							
Positive*	56	64	50	54	48	36	49
Negative**	29	33	40	29	19	22	32
Not sure	15	3	10	17	33	42	19
White/Other							
Positive*	77	66	57	61	70	47	54
Negative**	18	35	33	23	7	15	34
Not sure	5	0	10	16	23	38	12

*Positive: Respondents gave ratingsof "excellent or "pretty good"
**Negative: Respondents gave ratings of "only fair" or "poor"

the parents in all three school districts felt that the curriculum is not too rigid, a quarter believed that it is too rigid, and a quarter were unsure. As for the teaching of Negro history, virtually no one thought that the subject is overemphasized. Almost three-fifths of the population thought there is too little emphasis and 15 per cent considered the emphasis about right. Three-fourths of the parents who favored more community influence in the schools thought too little Negro history is being taught in the schools, while only 46 per cent of those who favor less influence shared this feeling.

Educational Leadership

Teacher performance and teacher-parent, teacher-student relationships were regarded less critically than textbooks or curriculum (see Table VI.5). Half the parents rated the teachers "positively" (either "excellent" or "pretty good") and nearly the same proportion rated them "negatively" ("only fair" or "poor"). The positive attitudes were somewhat lower than those found by the writer in a survey of the Negro population of Washington, D.C.[1] The ratings differed considerably among the three projects: three-fifths of the parents in Two Bridges, half in IS 201, and only one-third in Ocean Hill-Brownsville rated the teachers positively. The results in Ocean Hill-Brownsville may show the effect of the controversy over the transfer and dismissal of their teachers and may also have contributed to the decision of the LPB and its administrator to transfer the teachers. Three-fifths of the whites and orientals viewed the teachers favorably, as opposed to two-fifths of the Negroes. Those parents who were most critical of the teachers favored a greater degree of community influence.

A somewhat more critical view was expressed by the parents when they evaluated the interest of teachers in the students: a quarter of the parents believed that teachers are "very interested," while nearly half thought teachers are only "somewhat interested" in the children. The figure may reflect the sense expressed in the HARYOU study when it accounts for students who are achieving below grade level by saying that "substandard performance is expected of them."[2] Again, the parents in Ocean Hill were far more critical of teacher interest than those in either Two Bridges or IS-201. Twice as many whites in the total sample (41 per cent) as Negroes (21 per cent) believed that teachers are very interested. But the parents who favored less community influence were much more likely to feel that the teachers are interested in their children than were those who favored more community influence in the school system. This pattern also held true for parents who thought the teachers have a real understanding of the "problems the child faces in

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[1] A. Harry Passow, Toward Creating a Model Urban School System (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1967), pp. 63-65.

[2] HARYOU, op. cit., p. 237.

TABLE VI.5

PARENTS' ASSESSMENT OF TEACHERS IN THE SCHOOL SYSTEM (IN PER CENTS)

	Total Sample	Ocean Hill	Two Bridges	IS 201	Negro	Puerto Rican	White/ Others
Teachers							
Positive*	49	38	58	50	43	55	58
Negative**	47	58	35	47	52	38	34
Not sure	4	4	7	3	5	7	8
Teachers' Interest in Children							
Very interested	25	17	36	21	21	27	41
Somewhat interested	45	41	41	54	49	45	33
Hardly interested	24	37	17	18	25	21	22
Not sure	6	5	6	8	5	7	4
Teachers' Understanding of District Life							
Positive*	45	34	61	44	39	57	60
Negative**	47	58	31	51	54	35	33
Not sure	8	8	8	5	7	8	7
Parent-teacher Relationships							
Positive*	52	35	67	55	45	61	63
Negative**	40	56	25	40	47	34	27
Not sure	8	8	8	5	8	5	10
Student-teacher Relationships							
Positive*	48	38	56	51	44	54	57
Negative**	45	36	32	43	48	38	38
Not sure	7	6	12	6	8	8	5

*Positive: Respondents gave ratings of "excellent" or "pretty good"
**Negative: Respondents gave ratings of "only fair" or "poor"

growing up in this neighborhood." Parents who were more skeptical of the teachers' ability to understand life in the immediate school area favored greater community influence. Negroes also were more skeptical than whites and Puerto Ricans on this matter.

Parent-teacher relationships were rated somewhat more positively by the parents than were student-teacher relationships. Whites and Puerto Ricans were more positive about both these relationships than were Negroes. The parents in the Ocean Hill-Brownsville district were more critical than others.

When asked, "If you had a choice, would you rather have your children taught mostly by Negro teachers, mostly white teachers, or doesn't it make any difference on way or the other?" the overwhelming majority of all parents (82 per cent)--whites and Negroes--replied that it made no difference to them. Only 17 per cent of the Negroes, 9 per cent of the whites and others, and 1 per cent of the Puerto Ricans preferred Negro teachers. The greatest preference for Negro teachers occurred among the Ocean Hill-Brownsville parents (one in five). Only 10 per cent of the parents in the IS 201 district and 3 per cent of those in the Two Bridges district shared this preference.

The parents generally criticized the performance of the educational leaders--the Board of Education, the project administrator, and the local project board. Certainly none was rated as doing an excellent job. The Board of Education receives the most criticism from the parents, nearly three-fifths of whom evaluated the Board's job as "only fair or poor." Negroes were more critical than whites (69 per cent as opposed to 46 per cent).

The principal was the most highly esteemed educational leader (see Table VI.6), with half the parents rating his performance positively. Negroes, however, were far less satisfied with the performance of principals than were other groups. The parents of children in Ocean Hill-Brownsville also were much more critical of their principals than were the parents in the Two Bridges or the IS 201 districts. This result was surprising, inasmuch as the Ocean Hill project board has been able to select new principals outside the competitive list provided by the Board of Education.

It is more difficult to evaluate the parents' assessments of the project administrators and the local project boards, since they were new and in the developing stages at the time of the survey. In both instances, but particularly in the case of the project administrators, significant numbers of parents were "not sure" how to evaluate these leaders' performances. Each of the projects retained a different kind of project administrator. Rhody McCoy has taught and been a superintendent in the system for twenty years; he has gained wide exposure through the media during the Ocean Hill-Brownsville controversy. John Bremer is a college professor who left the Two Bridges project eventually but while there remained somewhat aloof in his contact with the

TABLE VI.6

PARENTS' ASSESSMENT OF EDUCATIONAL LEADERS
(IN PER CENTS)

	Total Sample	Ocean Hill	Two Bridges	IS 201	Negro	Puerto Rican	White/ Others
Board of Education							
Positive*	33	24	45	31	27	44	41
Negative**	58	69	43	63	69	43	46
Not sure	8	7	12	6	5	13	14
Unit Administrator							
Positive*	27	29	27	26	30	17	33
Negative**	28	44	14	38	31	25	24
Not sure	44	28	59	46	38	58	42
Local Project Board							
Positive*	34	31	34	38	37	28	37
Negative**	39	47	26	45	44	31	39
Not sure	27	23	39	17	20	41	24
Principal							
Positive*	53	40	66	55	48	60	67
Negative**	36	49	22	34	41	29	25
Not sure	11	11	11	11	11	11	9

*Positive: Respondents gave ratings of "excellent" or "pretty good"
**Negative: Respondents gave ratings of "only fair" or "poor"

community. Charles Wilson of IS 201 came to the project as an administrator from outside the school system.

The project administrator drew more criticism than the project board. Only one-fourth of the parents rated him as doing an "excellent or pretty good" job. About 40 per cent of the parents in the Ocean Hill-Brownsville and IS 201 demonstration projects believed their project administrators were doing only a "fair" or a "poor" job, compared to 14 per cent in the Two Bridges demonstration project. The criticism most frequently leveled at the project administrator in Ocean Hill was that the "kids are not getting any schooling" (15 per cent). With regard to the recent controversy over the transfer and dismissal of teachers in the Ocean Hill project, only 29 per cent of the total sample supported the project board and administrator, while 24 per cent supported the teachers.

Patterns of Influence in School Matters

The remoteness of public service agencies from their clients and of policy-makers from their constituents in large urban systems is a long-time problem of urban politics. The parents were asked what they thought happens when they contact school officials about school problems and whether they felt they will get a sympathetic hearing and action. They expressed considerable trust in the professional staff; two-thirds of the parents believed that the teachers and principals will understand and try to help (see Table VI.7). Slightly more than half the parents thought the local project boards will understand and try to help them, but only two-fifths of them expected the project administrators and the Board of Education to be as responsive. In fact, nearly half the parents are cynical about the Board of Education, feeling that the Board members will listen but avoid doing anything, or else will ignore them and their problems. The parents in the Ocean Hill-Brownsville project were the most cynical. As expected, those who favored more community influence believed the local project board will understand the problem and try to help; they also expected the same response from the principal and teachers. Like the Negroes, they did not expect as favorable a response to parental problems from the project administrator as from the local project boards.

In answer to the question whether educational policy-makers "generally try to do what most parents in this neighborhood want, what those with more influence want, or do they generally act pretty much on their own?" the parents considered the local project board more responsive to parents than either the project administrator or the Board of Education (see Table VI.8). Two-fifths of the parents in the total sample believed that the Board of Education generally acts pretty much on its own. Half the parents in Ocean Hill-Brownsville and half the Negro parents in the total sample believed that the Board of Education will act independently. However, they thought that the local project board will respond to the parents. The response of the project administrator is expected to fall somewhere between--he is not quite as

TABLE VI.7

PARENTS' ASSESSMENT OF HOW SCHOOL OFFICIALS WOULD RESPOND TO PARENTAL PROBLEMS (IN PER CENTS)

	Total Sample	Ocean Hill	Two Bridges	IS 201	Negro	Puerto Rican	White/ Others
Board of Education							
Understand/try to help	40	27	49	43	36	45	47
Listen/avoid doing anything	27	36	14	30	33	20	13
Ignore	20	23	18	17	21	15	23
Not sure	13	14	19	10	10	20	17
Project Administrator							
Understand/try to help	44	46	37	51	48	39	41
Listen/avoid doing antyhing	17	18	14	20	19	14	16
Ignore	6	7	6	6	8	6	1
Not sure	33	29	43	23	25	41	42
Local Project Board							
Understand/try to help	55	56	46	64	60	51	44
Listen/avoid doing anything	12	14	9	14	15	7	14
Ignore	4	6	4	3	5	5	1
Not sure	29	24	41	19	20	37	41
Principal							
Understand/try to help	64	52	73	68	60	72	64
Listen/avoid doing anything	19	28	13	15	21	11	27
Ignore	6	9	4	6	9	5	--
Not sure	11	11	10	11	10	22	9
Teachers							
Understand/try to help	65	51	76	68	60	75	71
Listen/avoid doing anything	15	23	9	14	21	7	10
Ignore	6	8	5	4	6	5	7
Not sure	14	18	10	14	13	13	12

TABLE VI.8

PARENTS' ASSESSMENT OF WHOM SCHOOL OFFICIALS RESPOND TO MOST (IN PER CENTS)

	Total Sample	Ocean Hill	Two Bridges	IS 201	Negro	Puerto Rican	White/ Others
Board of Education							
Parents	24	19	28	24	23	26	26
Influentials	20	21	16	23	20	15	26
Act on own	43	50	37	42	48	35	37
Not sure	13	10	19	11	9	24	11
Project Administrator							
Parents	30	28	26	35	30	26	31
Influentials	19	24	16	17	20	19	17
Act on own	18	22	12	27	23	13	9
Not sure	33	26	46	21	27	42	43
Local Board							
Parents	42	47	35	44	41	44	40
Influentials	11	12	9	12	14	6	11
Act on own	18	17	15	22	23	12	6
Not sure	29	24	41	22	22	38	43

likely to act on his own as the Board of Education or be as responsive to the parents as the local governing board.

In discussing the most effective way to express their views about some school program, one-third of the parents said they would contact the local principal, one-fourth would contact the New York City Board of Education, and one-fifth would go through the local parents association. Two-fifths of the parents in the Two Bridges district would go to their local principals. One-third of the parents in IS 201 and a quarter of those in Ocean Hill-Brownsville would contact the New York City Board of Education (approaching the New York City Board of Education was considered the least effective way to make their views known).

Community Influence in the Schools

There is little doubt that change has taken place in the field of education during the past year or so, especially in the delegation of authority to local school boards. Almost two-fifths (38 per cent) of the parents believed that the community "has more influence in the schools now compared with a year ago," while only a tenth of them felt that the community has lost influence. The most striking finding here is the opinion of half the Negro parents that there has been an increase in community influence.

Nevertheless, two-fifths of the total sample believed that the community has too little influence in running the schools (see Table VI.9); half the Negroes believed there is too little influence. On specific items, such as designing curricula, determining how money will be spent, hiring and removing teachers, hiring and removing principals and supervisors, two-fifths to one-half of the parents believed that the community has too little influence. This was the range of opinions for the items rated by the parents in both the Ocean Hill-Brownsville and IS 201 districts, compared to only one-third of the parents in the Two Bridges district. The responses supported the contention of the advocates of community control that the parents want to play a larger role and have more influence in determining who teaches their children.

A majority of parents believed that if a strong decentralization plan were to be set up and the communities assumed responsibility for their neighborhood schools, both parent leaders and the professional school staff would have the major influence (see Table VI.10). However, when asked what single group should have the greatest influence, a slight plurality of parents chose the professional school staff over parent leaders. These findings were evidence of the classic struggle between parents and professionals for control of the schools. There was no clearcut majority for either contestant among the demonstration project parents. Virtually no one believed that black militant groups or local politicians should have the greatest influence, although 10 per cent of the parents thought that the black militants would have influence and 20 per cent thought the politicians would be influential.

TABLE VI.9

PARENTS' ASSESSMENT OF COMMUNITY INFLUENCE IN RUNNING THE SCHOOLS (IN PER CENTS)

	Total Sample	Ocean Hill	Two Bridges	IS 201	Negro	Puerto Rican	White/ Others
General							
Too much	16	19	6	24	21	9	10
Too little	42	46	33	49	49	34	36
Right amount	20	16	28	15	18	20	25
Not sure	22	19	33	12	12	37	29
Determining Curriculum							
Too much	10	11	4	16	13	7	4
Too little	46	56	34	50	54	35	42
Right amount	24	15	32	23	20	26	26
Not sure	20	18	30	11	13	32	28
Determining How Money Will Be Spent							
Too much	6	9	3	6	7	6	1
Too little	47	50	38	55	54	39	36
Right amount	17	12	20	19	16	17	22
Not sure	30	29	39	20	23	38	41
Hiring Teachers							
Too much	12	16	8	13	16	9	6
Too little	47	53	35	52	54	34	39
Right amount	19	12	27	18	15	24	26
Not sure	22	19	30	17	15	35	29
Removing Teachers							
Too much	15	19	9	16	18	11	7
Too little	44	48	30	53	51	32	38
Right amount	18	13	27	12	14	22	20
Not sure	23	20	34	19	17	35	35
Hiring Principals and Supervisors							
Too much	12	15	6	15	16	8	4
Too little	44	52	31	50	52	30	38
Right amount	18	10	25	18	15	22	17
Not sure	26	23	38	17	17	40	41
Removing Principals and Supervisors							
Too much	13	17	8	16	17	9	6
Too little	42	51	27	50	51	31	28
Right amount	17	10	26	16	13	21	26
Not sure	28	22	39	18	19	39	40

TABLE VI.10

PARENTS' ASSESSMENT OF WHAT GROUPS WOULD BE AND WHAT SINGLE GROUP SHOULD BE INFLUENTIAL UNDER A STRONG DECENTRALIZATION PROGRAM (IN PER CENTS)

	Total Sample	Ocean Hill	Two Bridges	IS 201	Negro	Puerto Rican	White/ Others
Would Be Influential							
Parent leaders	61	56	64	62	64	58	47
Professional school staff	51	43	55	56	52	55	41
Local politicians	20	19	24	18	19	20	30
Local poverty workers	17	23	11	16	17	16	19
Local religious leaders	22	27	19	21	21	22	23
Civic leaders	33	39	34	25	31	34	43
Black militant leaders	10	14	2	15	13	6	3
Should Be Influential							
Parent leaders	28	26	25	35	33	20	26
Professional school staff	35	39	38	26	31	39	44
Local politicians	2	1	1	2	1	2	1
Local poverty workers	2	3	1	2	2	2	3
Local religious leaders	3	3	2	4	3	3	--
Civic leaders	5	7	6	3	5	2	13
Black militant leaders	2	2	--	3	3	--	--

Note: Sums equal more than 100 per cent because respondents could give more than one answer

Clearly, parents want more influence over the school system. Criticism of the system generates a desire for more community influence, as indicated by the fact that an overwhelming majority of parents who were critical of the schools wanted more influence. Seventy per cent or more of those who rated the school personnel negatively thought the community should have more control, as did the parents who criticized the curriculum, the textbooks, the special programs, and the school buildings. But even those persons who rated school personnel and equipment positively favored more community influence, although to a lesser degree than those who were critical of the schools. This pattern was strongest in the case of student-teacher and parent-teacher relationships, textbooks, the local project board, and the project administrator. In the case of the project administrators, four out of five parents who rated them positively wanted more community influence, which may indicate either that they view these officials as an important means of securing community influence or see a need for them to be more responsive to the community.

Strategies for Change

There is a great need to develop a variety of strategies for change in order to deal with reform of the urban school. Some strategies should be pedagogical, some administrative and managerial, and some political. The majority of parents thought that "not enough is being done to improve the schools" and three out of five viewed the reduction of overcrowding as the most important step toward improving their schools. Better discipline ranked second, with slightly under one-half the parents choosing this alternative as a necessary step to improve the schools. Most parents believed, however, that steps have not been taken in the demonstration project schools to reduce overcrowding, teach Spanish, train teachers' aides, improve discipline, reduce class size, hire more Negro teachers, and provide organized storefront school operations.

Nevertheless, the parents failed to agree on a strategy for improving the schools. One-third thought the most effective means is to elect better public officials; one-quarter would write letters to and petition their public officials, in comparison to the one-fifth who thought that putting the local community legally in charge of the schools will accomplish this end. Only 13 per cent believed that demonstrations and boycotts will improve the schools. Nor were the parents clear on how the project boards should be selected, although most felt they should play a major role in the process of selection. Thirty-five per cent thought the majority of the local project boards should be elected by the community, with the rest appointed by the Mayor and the New York City Board of Education. Thirty-one per cent thought that the local project board should be elected by the parents in the community. More Negro than white parents chose this method--35 as compared to 20 per cent.

When it came to politics, a quarter of the parents in the total sample considered themselves moderates and another quarter were liberal (see Table VI.11). Only 16 per cent considered themselves conservative and a mere 4 per cent perceived themselves as radical. One-third of the Ocean Hill-Brownsville parents, or twice as many as in IS 201, considered themselves liberal. More white than Negro or Puerto Rican parents considered themselves moderate, whereas more Negroes than whites or Puerto Ricans described themselves as liberal.

Anywhere from a tenth to a quarter of the parents participated in any one of the political activities listed. Those activities most frequently engaged in were demonstrating and writing or speaking to a public official. Ocean Hill parents were the most politicized; approximately one-third of them had demonstrated and boycotted the schools. More than one-quarter of the Ocean Hill parents had picketed and written or spoken to public officials. Whites and Negroes were about equally active. However, they concentrated on different means for their political expression. More of the white than Negro or Puerto Rican parents belonged to political organizations, participated in rent strikes, and went to their local project boards, whereas more Negroes had boycotted the schools. Puerto Ricans were less politically active than either Negroes or whites. However, a large proportion of them--about one-quarter--had demonstrated.

Almost a third of the parents reported that they voted when given an opportunity to elect members of the local project boards in the past year (see Table VI.11). This was somewhat more than half the number of parents voting in the 1965 mayoralty election. Less than a quarter voted in the Ocean Hill-Brownsville district election, while two-fifths voted in IS 201 and nearly one-third voted in Two Bridges. Approximately one-half of the registered voters did vote in the LPB elections.

The Sense of Sanctioning

The parents interviewed sensed that there might be some negative sanctioning in the community schools (see Table VI.12). One-third felt that if they took a public stand on an unpopular issue in the community, they would be regarded as "troublemakers." In IS 201, 42 per cent of the parents expressed this attitude.

More parents in the total sample believed that their friends would ridicule rather than admire them if they took such a stand. Only in Ocean Hill did more parents think that they would be admired rather than ridiculed if they took a public stand on an unpopular issue. More white parents also thought they would be admired by friends that belived they would be ridiculed. The opposite was true of Negroes and Puerto Ricans.

Two-fifths of the parents believed that their protesting an action taken by school officials might influence the way their children are treated in school, compared to 29 per cent who thought this would not happen. Nearly half the parents in the IS 201 project thought that protesting an action would influence the way their children are treated in school. Puerto Ricans had a lower sense of sanctioning than either

TABLE VI.11

POLITICAL BEHAVIOR AND IDENTIFICATION OF DEMONSTRATION PROJECT PARENTS (IN PER CENTS)

	Total Sample	Ocean Hill	Two Bridges	IS 201	Negro	Puerto Rican	White/ Others
Political Activities							
Attended pol rally	18	19	17	20	21	14	19
Wrote letter to public official	22	29	21	16	26	13	24
Belong pol org'n	13	16	15	9	14	11	20
Participated in rent strike	10	14	6	10	10	9	14
Joined picket line	19	28	14	14	19	18	19
Boycotted store	13	21	9	8	14	9	14
Boycotted school	19	34	10	13	24	9	19
Demonstrated	22	33	19	13	21	24	21
Went to LPB	13	20	12	7	14	9	17
Voting Behavior							
Voted for LPB, 1967	30	22	31	42	31	28	33
Voted mayoralty, 1965	48	38	55	49	48	45	57
Registered to vote	59	51	63	64	61	55	60
Political Ideology							
Conservative	16	12	11	24	18	13	13
Middle-of-road	26	25	28	26	25	24	33
Liberal	25	32	27	17	28	20	25
Radical	4	5	1	7	6	1	1
Not sure	28	26	34	25	22	41	27

TABLE VI.12

PARENTS' SENSE OF SANCTIONING IF THEY SHOULD TAKE A PUBLIC STAND ON AN UNPOPULAR ISSUE (IN PER CENT)

	Total Sample	Ocean Hill	Two Bridges	IS 201	Negro	Puerto Rican	White/ Others
Reaction of Friends							
Would admire	25	31	25	19	29	19	24
Would ridicule	28	25	26	35	32	27	20
Not sure	45	44	48	42	37	53	54
Reputation in Community							
Community leader	24	29	23	18	26	20	19
Troublemaker	33	30	27	42	37	31	21
Not sure	43	40	50	38	36	49	60
Effect on Job							
Would help	18	21	14	18	18	17	17
Would cause trouble	21	19	15	31	28	14	10
Not sure	58	55	69	49	51	69	70
Effect of Protest on Child in School							
Might influence	41	40	35	49	44	35	46
Would not influence	29	32	32	23	31	27	26
Not sure	30	29	33	27	25	37	29

whites or Negroes. This response does not mean, however, that the parents were inactive in school affairs. Two-fifths of the parents in the sample belonged to parents associations; almost 90 per cent reported that they visited their schools in the past year. Although most of these parents went on Parents Visiting Day, nearly one-third visited principals or teachers on other occasions.

The demand for community control has arisen partly from the failure to integrate IS 201 and partly from the general difficulty in desegregating the public schools. Thus, it is important to note that more than half the parents in the sample preferred integrating the schools to improving schools that already are desegregated (see Table VI.13). As a follow-up to the question on integrated education, the parents were asked their opinions of two quite different approaches that would achieve this objective. The first is busing of students within New York City; almost half (47 per cent) of the sample opposed this move, while 39 per cent favored it. Only 16 per cent of the whites favored busing, while half the Negroes approved. The second approach is the expansion of the New York City school system into some for of metropolitan school district to include parts of the suburbs just outside the city. Nearly half the total sample thought this a good idea.

Parents and the Dilemma of Decentralization

The three demonstration projects are located in disadvantaged areas; although parents did not consider education as the most important problem, few of them viewed their schools as excellent and most voiced dissatisfaction. The parents did not believe that their schools have improved in the last few years--if anything, they have become worse. In addition, parents were pessimistic about the possibilities for future improvement. Those parents who were more critical of the school system--its facilities, services, programs, and those who run it--believed that the community should have more influence in shaping the character and content of their children's education. However, they were not particularly well satisfied with the performance of the three demonstration projects.

Public support for the schools in disadvantaged areas may never have been strong, but the intense and prolonged controversy over educational matters raises questions and criticism of the school system. Parents' dissatisfaction with the schools included the educational personnel--the Board of Education, the local project administrator, and the local project board--who are the objects of criticism and some feel- of distrust on the part of the parents. On the other hand, the parents were optimistic about approaching the principals and the teachers with their specific problems. They considered the LPBs as sources of influence and mediators between the community and the Board of Education.

Almost twice as many parents supported (46 per cent) as opposed (26 per cent) decentralization (see Table VI.14). Over one-third of

TABLE VI.13

PARENTS' POSITIONS ON SCHOOL INTEGRATION, BUSING, AND EXPANDING THE SCHOOL SYSTEM (IN PER CENTS)

	Total Sample	Ocean Hill	Two Bridges	IS 201	Negro	Puerto Rican	White/ Others
Integration							
Integrate schools	53	57	50	53	56	53	38
Improve segregated schools	32	37	19	41	37	22	30
Not sure	15	6	32	6	7	25	32
Busing within New York City							
Favor	39	48	19	52	48	30	16
Oppose	47	43	60	38	43	53	56
Not sure	24	9	21	10	9	17	28
Metropolitan School System							
Good idea	47	48	34	61	54	39	31
Not a good idea	27	23	27	29	26	25	31
Not sure	26	29	39	10	20	36	38

TABLE VI.14

PARENTS' POSITIONS ON DECENTRALIZATION AND THE OCEAN HILL-BROWNSVILLE TEACHER DISPUTE (IN PER CENTS)

	Total Sample	Ocean Hill	Two Bridges	IS 201	Negro	Puerto Rican	White/ Others
Position on Decentralization							
Support	46	60	39	48	52	35	41
Oppose	26	33	26	17	26	26	26
Not sure	28	17	34	34	22	39	33
Position on OH-B Teacher Dispute							
Favor OH-B Project	29	32	22	34	34	20	30
Favor teachers	24	29	26	16	25	21	29
Neither	8	9	8	8	8	8	6
Not sure	38	30	44	43	33	51	35

the parents in Two Bridges and IS 201 were not sure how they stood on decentralization. There was much more certainty in Ocean Hill, where 60 per cent supported decentralization, one-third opposed it, and only 17 per cent were not sure. IS 201 parents who took a position on decentralization supported it three to one. A larger proportion of Negroes (52 per cent) supported decentralization than did whites of Puerto Ricans. There was not complete agreement among the parents that any one group would or should have complete control of a decentralized district. They viewed decentralization as an opportunity for greater community participation, but they expected and preferred to have professional educators participate in planning the educational programs.

The most publicized event involving the demonstration projects was the dispute between the Ocean Hill local school authorities and the UFT teachers. When asked in May, 1968, whom they supported, 29 per cent of the parents indicated support for Ocean Hill, 24 per cent for the teachers, 8 per cent for neither, and 38 per cent were unsure. The differential in support expressed between the two contenders was greatest in IS 201, where 34 per cent supported Ocean Hill and only 16 per cent supported the teachers. Oddly enough, the contest was closest in Ocean Hill, where 32 per cent supported the project and 29 per cent supported the teachers. These figures for Ocean Hill-Brownsville, however, were to change dramatically as the confrontation continued into and through the following fall.

The people who will determine the future direction of the public schools of New York City, education for the disadvantaged, and decentralization face a dilemma. On the one hand, dissatisfaction with the present educational system has led many to advocate change, specifically the need for increased community involvement in the schools, if not outright control of the local schools. On the other hand, the experience of this past year has not only created anxiety on the part of the general community and professional staff, but the parents have given only qualified support to those who assume leadership in the local demonstration projects.

The Board of Education recently has delegated more substantial powers to the local projects boards, but it has done so only with safeguards to protect the rights of the professional staff, especially the teachers and principals, whom the parents consider reasonably trustworthy. The delegation of additional authority to the demonstration projects, as long as there is an adequate means of organizing the professional staff and parents in a meaningful partnership, should reduce the time and energy that have been expended in the past in the struggle for power. One solution to the dilemma facing the New York City schools would be to develop a flexible system that will create opportunities for the participants in the educational process--students, parents, teachers, supervisors, and board members--to share in a more effective working relationship. The next chapter will explore the differentials between the politically relevant and the apoliticals in this process.

CHAPTER VII

PARENTS SEARCH FOR MORE COMMUNITY INFLUENCE [1]

This chapter is concerned with assessing the sentiments, attitudes, and activities of those parents who want more community and parental influence in the affairs of the New York City schools, as well as of those parents who oppose the greater community and parental influence that may result from decentralization of the school system. This is an analysis, of course, of disadvantaged parents who are considered by most people, if not by themselves, to be powerless in the system. Parents in each of the three demonstration project districts--Ocean Hill-Brownsville, IS 201, and Two Bridges--were divided into two groups: those who favored more and those who favored less influence.

In order to determine the desire for more or for less influence, the following two questions were asked: "Generally, do you feel the community has too much influence in the running of the schools in this neighborhood, too little influence, or just about the right amount of influence in the running of the schools in this neighborhood?" and "All in all, would you say you are strongly in favor of decentralization of the New York school system, somewhat in favor of decentralization, somewhat opposed to decentralization, or strongly opposed to decentralization?"

Parents were classified as wanting more community influence if they responded "too little influence" to the first question. If they responded "right amount" or "not sure" to the first question but "strongly in favor" or "somewhat in favor" to the second question, they were also classified as wanting more community influence. They were classified as wanting less community influence if they responded "too much influence" to the first question. If they responded "the right amount" or "not sure" to the first question but answered the second question with "strongly opposed" or "somewhat opposed," they also were classified as wanting less community influence.

In all three school districts approximately twice as many parents favored more rather than less community influence. Nearly three-fifths of those in Ocean Hill-Brownsville and IS 201 favored more influence, as compared to less than one-third who favored less influence. Half of the parents in Two Bridges wanted more to say about the schools; more than one-fifth would have preferred less.

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[1] This chapter is a revision of an article to be published in Education and Urban Society.

Table VII.1 presents the socio-economic characteristics of the parents in the three districts. The groups of parents who favored more community influence in their schools and those who favored less showed some variations from one district to another, as well as within the districts. The higher the educational level of the parents, the more likely they were to favor a greater degree of community influence in the school system. Two out of five of those with an eighth-grade education or less wanted less influence; only one-quarter favored more. A higher level of income did not necessarily affect these attitudes, nor was occupational status important.

Race did not seem to affect the amount of influence desired until each district was examined separately. Then the following differences appeared: more than three-quarters of the Negroes but only 17 per cent of the Puerto Ricans in Ocean Hill-Brownsville favored greater community influence in their schools. In the Two Bridges district, however, only one-quarter of the Negroes but nearly one-half of the Puerto Ricans favored more influence.

The Parents' Assessment of the Local Schools

The parents who favored greater community influence in running their schools were somewhat more optimistic about future improvement of the schools. Nearly one-third of all the parents who wanted more influence thought the schools would "get better," as opposed to one-fifth of those who favored less influence. The parents in the IS 201 district who favored greater community influence were the most optimistic; nearly one-half of them felt that their schools would improve. On the other hand, the largest proportion (44 per cent) of the Ocean Hill parents who favored less influence expected that their schools would "get worse" in the future.

When asked whether Negro children get a better education than white children in the New York City public schools, two-fifths of all the parents felt that white children get a better education. Almost half of the parents favoring more community influence held this view. In the Ocean Hill-Brownsville and IS 201 demonstration projects three-fifths of those parents who wanted the community to have more influence in school affairs maintained that white children get a better education.

Parents who favored more community influence were, of course, more critical of the system; parents who favored less community influence gave more positive ratings to the educational system, as well as to the textbooks, buildings, lunch programs, counseling, and curricula (see Table VII.2). Only in assessing "programs like Head Start" and "programs for the gifted" did the ratings of the parents favoring more influence match those of the parents who opposed greater community influence.

TABLE VII.1

SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF PARENTS IN SURVEY
(IN PER CENTS)

	Total		Ocean Hill		Two Bridges		IS 201	
	More Infl (N=342)	Less Infl (N=169)	More Infl (N=123)	Less Infl (N=64)	More Infl (N=107)	Less Infl (N=45)	More Infl (N=112)	Less Infl (N=59)
Race/Ethnicity								
White	6	6	3	2	14	19	1	-
Negro	64	64	77	68	25	33	87	84
Puerto Rican	24	27	17	31	44	37	12	16
Oriental	5	3	1	-	15	12	-	-
Level of Education								
8th grade or less	25	38	23	35	33	38	20	42
9th-11th grade	40	35	39	39	31	33	48	34
High school	30	23	32	21	30	28	28	20
Some college	5	3	6	3	6	2	4	3
Income								
Under $5,000	55	53	56	52	43	40	64	67
$5,000-$7,000	33	35	29	35	44	51	27	24
$7,000 or more	12	12	14	14	12	9	9	9

TABLE VII.1 (continued)

	Total		Ocean Hill		Two Bridges		IS 201	
	More Infl (N-342)	Less Infl (N=169)	More Infl (N=123)	Less Infl (N=64)	More Infl (N=107)	Less Infl (N=45)	More Infl (N=112)	Less Infl (N=59)
Occupation								
White-collar	14	13	16	12	16	14	6	11
Service	20	10	20	8	20	14	20	9
Skilled	19	19	21	36	22	15	15	7
Unskilled	12	15	13	12	10	15	13	18
Other	7	13	5	8	10	20	5	14
No answer	28	30	25	24	22	22	31	41
Birthplace								
New York City	22	18	20	15	34	21	13	17
South	45	43	55	45	13	14	64	62
Puerto Rico	22	25	15	30	41	35	11	14
Other	11	14	10	10	13	3- 30	12	7

TABLE VII.2

PARENTS' ASSESSMENT OF SCHOOL FACILITIES, SERVICES, AND PROGRAMS (IN PER CENTS)

	Total		Ocean Hill		Two Bridges		IS 201	
	More Infl	Less Infl	More Infl	Less Infl	More Infl	Less Infl	More Infl	Less Infl
Positive Assessment*								
Textbooks	47	56	36	52	59	64	50	56
Buildings	45	54	31	50	61	64	45	51
Lunches	42	42	31	41	58	54	37	36
Counseling	42	61	28	58	52	62	46	64
Programs like Head Start	61	59	51	54	64	60	70	66
Programs for the gifted	44	40	37	31	41	49	51	44
Curriculum	36	48	21	44	46	60	43	44
Negative Assessment**								
Textbooks	33	33	58	44	26	20	45	34
Buildings	52	42	66	48	38	31	51	46
Lunches	51	45	59	39	35	36	59	52
Counseling	42	23	52	22	28	20	44	27
Programs like Head Start	19	14	25	11	14	13	18	17
Programs for the gifted	26	17	29	20	21	15	29	16
Curriculum	56	40	72	44	44	24	52	49

*Positive: Respondents rated school as "excellent or "pretty good"
**Negative: Respondents rated school as "only fair" or "poor"

When responses in the three districts were compared, the proportions of parents favoring greater influence in Ocean Hill contrasted most sharply with those favoring less influence. Only one-third of those wanting more influence viewed textbooks positively, compared to over one-half of those wanting less influence. Less than one-third of the parents who wanted a greater say positively assessed their school buildings, in comparison to one-half of those who favored less influence. Twice as many parents who favored less influence (58 per cent) as parents who favored more (28 per cent) felt that counseling was "good." Curriculum was viewed unfavorably by 72 per cent of those wanting more influence, whereas nearly one-half of those desiring less influence viewed the curriculum positively.

Nearly three-fourths of the parents desiring greater community influence felt that too little Negro history is being taught in the schools, an opinion which was shared by 46 per cent of the parents favoring less community influence. Parents desiring greater community influence (28 per cent) were more likely than those who preferred less influence (17 per cent) to view the curriculum in the schools as "too rigid."

Most parents did not think that the necessary attempts were being made to improve the schools. Consistently, those parents who wanted greater community influence criticized as insufficient the attempts to reduce overcrowding, teach Spanish, train teacher aides, improve discipline, reduce class size, and hire more Negro teachers. Nearly two-thirds of those wanting more influence thought that no attempt was being made to reduce overcrowding, compared to less than half of those wanting less influence. Approximately one-half of the parents wanting more influence said that Spanish was not being taught, whereas only one-third of their opposites made this assessment. Nearly one-third of the parents wanting more influence said nothing was being done to improve discipline; one-half of those favoring less influence made this claim. Three-fifths of the parents favoring more influence perceived no attempt to reduce class size, whereas two-fifths of those favoring less influence had this perception. One-half of those favoring more influence claimed that nothing was being done to get more Negro teachers, whereas less than one-third of their counterparts gave this answer. Consistently, the parents favoring less influence were more often unsure of what attempts were being made to improve schools than were those who favored more influence.

The greatest differences in assessment of school improvements between parents favoring more influence and parents favoring less occurred in Ocean Hill and IS 201. Whether or not these improvements actually are being attempted, it is important for school officials to consider the fact that such a large proportion of respondents felt a deficiency.

Evaluation of the Educational Leaders

Although teachers fared better in the evaluation than other leaders of the educational system, there were distinct differences in the opinions of the various groups of parents. Again, teacher performance, teacher-parent relationships, and teacher-student relationships were regarded more critically by the parents who wanted greater influence in the schools (see Table VII.3). Those parents in Ocean Hill-Brownsville and Two Bridges who desired greater community influence were especially critical of the schools. Only about one-quarter of those desiring more influence positively assessed the teachers and their relationships to the community, parents, and students, whereas about one-half of those favoring less influence viewed the teachers positively in these matters. Similarly, of those favoring more influence in Two Bridges, nearly one-half viewed teachers and their relationships negatively, compared to less than one-quarter of those who favored less influence.

When asked, "If you had a choice, would you rather have your children taught mostly by Negro teachers, mostly by white teachers, or doesn't it make any difference one way or the other?" the overwhelming majority (82 per cent) of all parents replied that it made no difference to them. In Ocean Hill, however, one-fourth of the parents favoring more community influence preferred Negro teachers; one-tenth of the parents desiring less community influence expressed this preference.

The same pattern persisted in the parents' evaluation of other educational leaders--the Board of Education, the project administrators, the local project boards (LPBs) and the principals (see Table VII.4). Generally, these leaders were more criticized than praised, with the Board of Education being the most severely rated. Almost three-foutths of the parents who desired more community influence rated the Board of Education as either "only fair" or "poor." Only one-fifth of the group rated the Board as "excellent" or "pretty good." Of those parents favoring less community influence, 45 per cent rated the Board positively and 47 per cent negatively.

Nearly two-thirds of the parents who favored less community influence rated the principals positively, either "excellent" or "pretty good"; one-fourth of this group gave them a negative rating. On the other hand, parents favoring more influence were equally divided in their assessment of the principals--45 per cent positive, 46 per cent negative. There was a substantial difference between the districts. The Ocean Hill parents who wanted greater community influence were the most negative in judging principals. Nearly three-fifths of Ocean Hill parents held negative views of their principals, compared to only one-third of the parents in Two Bridges and IS 201, respectively.

The project administrators received positive ratings from half of the parents who favored more community influence. Only 18 per cent of the parents favoring less community influence viewed these officials

TABLE VII.3

PARENTS' ASSESSMENT OF TEACHERS IN THE SCHOOL SYSTEM
(IN PER CENTS)

	Total		Ocean Hill		Two Bridges		IS 201	
	More Infl	Less Infl	More Infl	Less Infl	More Infl	Less Infl	More Infl	Less Infl
Positive Assessment*								
Teachers	40	61	25	64	50	71	49	49
Teachers' understanding of district life	38	37	26	47	52	76	38	41
Parent-teacher realtionships	46	57	29	47	63	69	49	57
Student-teacher relationships	40	56	27	53	48	67	47	51
Negative Assessment**								
Teachers	55	36	70	35	46	22	47	47
Teachers' understanding of district life	57	40	68	43	44	20	46	53
Parent-teacher relationships	49	35	65	42	33	22	46	38
Student-teacher relationships	53	36	66	43	43	20	47	42

*Positive: Respondents rated teachers as "excellent" or "pretty good"
**Negative: Respondents rated teachers as "only fair" or "poor"

TABLE VII.4

PARENTS' ASSESSMENT OF EDUCATIONAL LEADERS
(IN PER CENTS)

	Total		Ocean Hill		Two Bridges		IS 201	
	More Infl	Less Infl	More Infl	Less Infl	More Infl	Less Infl	More Infl	Less Infl
Positive Assessment*								
Board of Education	21	45	12	40	38	56	19	45
Unit Administrator	50	18	38	12	35	15	25	25
Local Project Board	34	35	34	25	31	34	37	47
Principal	45	64	29	53	59	75	50	66
Negative Assessment**								
Board of Education	73	47	81	54	58	33	78	51
Unit Administrator	32	30	41	54	20	9	34	24
Local Project Board	48	36	54	47	40	14	51	42
Principal	46	25	59	36	36	9	40	28

*Positive: Respondents rated leaders as "excellent" or "pretty good"
**Negative: Respondents rated leaders as "only fair" or "poor"

positively, as either "excellent" or "pretty good." But the project administrators in Ocean Hill-Brownsville and IS 201 received more criticism than praise. The Ocean Hill parents who favored more influence were divided in their opinion of their project administrator--approximately two-fifths held negative and two-fifths held positive views. However, those favoring less influence were predominantly negative (54 per cent) about the project administrator. Only 12 per cent of those favoring less influence rated him as "excellent" or "pretty good." In IS 201 one-quarter of both those wanting more and those wanting less influence rated their project administrator favorably, whereas one-third of those favoring more influence and one-quarter of those favoring less rated him negatively.

The parents' assessments of the LPBs were more difficult to analyze. Those parents who favored greater community influence (48 per cent) were more critical of the LPBs than those who desired less (36 per cent). The Ocean Hill-Brownsville LPB was rated "excellent" or "pretty good" by one-third of the parents favoring more community influence and by one-quarter of those wanting less. In IS 201, however, the LPB was viewed more favorably by parents wanting less community influence than by those wanting more (47 per cent, compared to 37 per cent). Nearly one-half of all parents in Ocean Hill and IS 201 said the performance of the LPB was "only fair" or "poor."

Patterns of Influence

The parents in the demonstration school districts were asked what they thought would happen if and when they contacted school officials about school problems, that is, whether they expected a sympathetic hearing and satisfactory action. The responses showed considerably different attitudes on the part of the parents who wanted more community influence in educational decision-making and those who wanted less (see Table VII.5). The parents showed considerable trust in the professional staff. Three-fifths of the parents desiring more community influence and 70 per cent of those who were opposed to more influence said they felt that teachers would "understand, try to help them." In Ocean Hill-Brownsville, however, only two-fifths of the parents favoring greater community influence thought the teachers would try to help them; one-third of these parents expected the teachers to "listen, but avoid doing anything." Ocean Hill parents who wanted more community influence expected even less aid from the principals. Slightly more than one-third of these Ocean Hill parents viewed the principals as "understanding and trying to help"; nearly two-fifths thought the principals would "listen but avoid doing anything."

The advocates of greater community influence expected the Board of Education to be even less responsive to parents. A quarter of the parents wanting more influence thought the Board would ignore them; this figure increased to 30 per cent among the group in Ocean Hill-Brownsville. More than one-third of those favoring more influence thought the Board

TABLE VII.5

PARENTS' ASSESSMENT OF HOW SCHOOL OFFICIALS WOULD RESPOND TO PARENTAL PROBLEMS (IN PER CENTS)

	Total		Ocean Hill		Two Bridges		IS 201	
	More Infl	Less Infl	More Infl	Less Infl	More Infl	Less Infl	More Infl	Less Infl
Board of Education								
Understand/try to help	28	58	16	50	36	67	34	59
Listen/avoid doing anything	37	15	48	17	23	7	40	19
Ignore	26	11	30	16	26	7	21	8
Not sure	8	17	7	17	14	20	4	14
Project Administrator								
Understand/try to help	49	39	53	34	42	33	50	49
Listen/avoid doing anything	21	19	18	20	20	18	24	19
Ignore	7	5	7	9	8	2	7	3
Not sure	23	36	21	34	29	47	18	29
Local Project Board								
Understand/try to help	65	44	66	36	51	57	75	53
Listen/avoid doing anything	13	17	14	19	10	13	13	17
Ignore	4	7	4	13	7	-	3	5
Not sure	18	33	16	33	31	40	8	25
Principal								
Understand/ try to help	55	76	37	75	64	82	66	73
Listen/avoid doing anything	28	8	41	8	22	4	19	10
Ignore	9	4	12	5	8	2	6	3
Not sure	9	12	10	13	7	11	9	14

TABLE VII.5 (continued)

	Total		Ocean Hill		Two Bridges		IS 201	
	More Infl	Less Infl	More Infl	Less Infl	More Infl	Less Infl	More Infl	Less Infl
Teachers								
Understand/try to help	60	70	42	69	70	84	70	61
Listen/avoid doing anything	21	9	33	8	12	5	17	14
Ignore	8	2	10	5	10	-	5	2
Not sure	11	18	16	19	8	11	8	24

would "listen, but avoid doing anything"; however, almost half of the Ocean Hill parents in favor of more influence held this attitude. More parents favoring less community influence (58 per cent) expected the Board to respond with understanding and aid.

The expectations of positive responses from both the project administrators and the local project boards were greater among the parents favoring more influence. One-half of these parents expected the project administrators to "understand and try to help"; two-thirds of them anticipated the same response from the LPBs. Conversely, parents favoring less community influence expected the least from these local officials. A slightly more positive response was expected of the project administrator in Ocean Hill (53 per cent of parents favoring less influence) than of the other two. In IS 201, however, one-half of both groups of parents (those who favored and those who opposed more community influence) anticipated that the project administrators would "understand and try to help."

The parents in all three groups who wanted more community influence generally expected a more positive reaction from their LPB than from their project administrator. Parents favoring less community influence were more likely to be "not sure" of the response than those who advocated more influence.

The same general pattern persisted when parents were asked whether educational policy-makers "generally try to do what most parents in this neighborhood want, what those with more influence want, or do they generally act pretty much on their own?" (see Table VII.6). One-third of the supporters of less community influence considered that the Board of Education was responsive to parents, one -fourth expected the project administrator to respond to the parents, and 28 per cent felt that the LPB would respond to the parents. Much the same proportions of these parents felt that the Board would "act on its own," whereas only one-fifth thought that the local officials would act on their own. On the other hand, one-fourth of the parents advocating more community influence thought the local project administrator and the Board of Education would respond to "influentials." Only 17 per cent of these parents expected the Board of Education to respond to the parents, twice as many (34 per cent) thought the project administrator would respond to the parents, and one-half of them felt the LPB would listen to the parents. In Ocean Hill, however, nearly three-fifths of those who wanted the community to have more influence viewed the LPBs as responding to the parents, compared to one-third who thought that the project administrator would respond to the parents.

The parents were asked to evaluate the community's role in running the schools (see Table VII.7). The advocates of greater influence, of course, felt that there was "too little influence." On specific items, such as designing curriculum, determining expenditures, hiring and removing teachers, and hiring and removing principals and supervisors, two-thirds of all parents who were in favor of increased community influence felt they now had too little. In the Ocean Hill and IS 201

TABLE VII.6

PARENTS' ASSESSMENT OF WHOM SCHOOL OFFICIALS RESPOND TO MOST (IN PER CENTS)

	Total		Ocean Hill		Two Bridges		IS 201	
	More Infl	Less Infl	More Infl	Less Infl	More Infl	Less Infl	More Infl	Less Infl
Board of Education								
Parents	17	34	8	33	24	37	21	32
Influentials	24	14	26	11	17	16	29	17
Act on own	53	33	60	35	52	26	46	36
Not sure	6	19	6	21	7	21	4	15
Project Administrator								
Parents	34	23	33	19	30	26	39	27
Influentials	25	13	29	19	21	9	25	8
Act on own	20	22	23	19	15	19	21	27
Not sure	21	42	16	43	34	47	16	37
Local Project Board								
Parents	51	28	58	25	39	28	53	32
Influentials	12	12	8	19	12	9	16	7
Act on own	19	22	19	16	21	14	18	36
Not sure	18	38	14	41	28	49	13	25

TABLE VII.7

PARENTS' ASSESSMENT OF COMMUNITY INFLUENCE IN RUNNING THE SCHOOLS (IN PER CENTS)

	Total		Ocean Hill		Two-Bridges		IS 201	
	More Infl	Less Infl	More Infl	Less Infl	More Infl	Less Infl	More Infl	Less Infl
Determining Curriculum								
Too much	2	33	13	32	1	13	2	50
Too little	69	18	78	21	58	11	71	20
Right amount	20	29	10	21	28	44	22	23
Not sure	9	21	8	26	13	31	5	7
Deciding How to Appropriate Funds								
Too much	1	19	2	27	2	9	-	18
Too little	67	23	70	21	60	16	71	32
Right amount	14	21	9	13	16	31	18	23
Not sure	17	37	18	39	23	44	11	27
Hiring Teachers								
Too much	4	34	5	44	3	24	4	32
Too little	68	18	75	23	56	13	74	18
Right amount	15	26	9	13	23	38	14	29
Not sure	12	21	9	21	18	24	8	18
Removing Teachers								
Too much	5	40	5	53	5	24	6	39
Too little	65	16	72	15	49	9	72	25
Right amount	15	20	13	11	23	38	9	16
Not sure	15	23	10	21	23	29	13	20

TABLE VII.7 (continued)

	Total		Ocean Hill		Two Bridges		IS 201	
	More Infl	Less Infl	More Infl	Less Infl	More Infl	Less Infl	More Infl	Less Infl
Hiring Principals and Supervisors								
Too much	3	35	3	42	2	22	5	38
Too little	67	15	76	18	51	9	72	16
Right amount	14	21	9	10	19	36	16	23
Not sure	15	28	13	27	26	33	6	23
Removing Principals and Supervisors								
Too much	4	37	3	45	3	27	6	38
Too little	64	15	74	19	45	7	73	16
Right amount	14	21	9	6	21	38	11	23
Not sure	18	27	14	29	30	29	10	21

districts these figures often rose to three-fourths of these parents. Nearly two out of five of all parents favoring less community influence felt the parents had "too much influence" in personnel matters.

Most parents believed that if a strong decentralization plan were to be instituted and the communities assumed responsibility for their neighborhood schools, either parent leaders or professional school staff would be the influential group (see Table VII.8). Twenty-eight per cent of the parents in favor of more community influence thought that the parent leaders would be the most influential; 22 per cent believed that the professional school staff would have the greatest influence; 23 and 26 per cent of the parents desiring less community influence felt that the parent leaders and professional school staff, respectively, would have the greatest influence. These were the same persons whom most parents thought should be influential. On the other hand, well over half the parents who believed in less community influence in educational matters felt that the professional school staff should be the most influential group under a strongly decentralized program. Two-fifths of those believing in more community influence stated that the parents should be influential. A very small proportion of the parents felt that black militants, civic leaders, religious leaders, local poverty workers, or local politicians should be more influential in school affairs. Ten per cent of all parents believed that local politicians and civic leaders would have influence.

Strategies for Change in the School System

Although most parents believed that steps were not being taken to improve their schools, there was no consensus among them on how to effect these improvements (see Table VIII.9). Parents favoring less community influence placed more faith in "electing public officials" (41 per cent) and "writing letters to responsible officials" (34 per cent), while 29 per cent of the parents who supported more community influence believed that the most effective way to bring about school improvements is to have community groups legally in charge of the schools. "Sit-ins in the schools" and other drastic measures, such as "burning the schools down," were not considered effective by any parents. Only a few parents believed that "demonstrating for better conditions" (10 per cent) or "boycotting the schools" (4 per cent) are the most effective ways to bring about improvement.

The two groups of parents differed in the degree of their participation in community activities. Only a minority of them could be considered activists (see Table VII.10). Of these, the parents who sought more community influence in educational matters were the most likely to participate in demonstrations (31 per cent), keep their children out of school (28 per cent), write or speak to political officials (28 per cent), join picket lines (27 per cent), go to political rallies (24 per cent), belong to political organizations (20 per cent), or go to the local project board or project administrator (14 per cent). One-fourth

TABLE VII.8

PARENTS' ASSESSMENT OF WHAT SINGLE GROUP WOULD AND SHOULD BE INFLUENTIAL UNDER A STRONG DECENTRALIZATION PROGRAM (IN PER CENTS)

	Total		Ocean Hill		Two Bridges		IS 201	
	More Infl	Less Infl	More Infl	Less Infl	More Infl	Less Infl	More Infl	Less Infl
Would Be Influential								
Parent leaders	28	23	26	19	25	30	32	23
Professional school staff	22	26	16	26	30	23	20	30
Local politicians	10	6	12	5	12	5	6	9
Local poverty workers	2	3	2	5	3	2	2	-
Local religious leaders	6	3	9	2	4	5	6	4
Civic leaders	12	10	13	16	15	9	6	4
Black militant leaders	4	9	3	9	2	2	8	15
Should Be Influential								
Parent leaders	39	13	33	17	37	2	47	17
Professional school staff	27	56	31	57	35	61	16	51
Local politicians	3	-	2	-	3	-	4	-
Local poverty workers	2	1	3	2	1	-	2	-
Local religious leaders	4	2	3	2	2	-	6	4
Civic leaders	7	4	8	5	9	2	2	6
Black militant leaders	2	2	2	2	-	2	5	2

TABLE VII.9

PARENTS' ASSESSMENT OF THE MOST EFFECTIVE WAY TO BRING ABOUT IMPROVEMENTS IN THE SCHOOLS (IN PER CENTS)

Strategy	Total		Ocean Hill		Two Bridges		IS 201	
	More Infl	Less Infl	More Infl	Less Infl	More Infl	Less Infl	More Infl	Less Infl
Writing letters to responsible officials	23	34	15	34	23	44	31	23
Electing better public officials	30	41	26	36	29	37	57	57
Having community groups legally in charge of the schools	29	9	32	8	30	7	25	11
Boycotting the schools	5	2	8	5	5	-	1	-
Demonstrating for better conditions	11	9	14	7	9	11	9	9
Sit-ins in the schools	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Burning down the schools	-	1	-	2	-	-	-	-
Not sure	5	13	6	16	6	16	3	6

TABLE VII.10

POLITICAL BEHAVIOR OF PARENTS (IN PER CENTS)

	Total		Ocean Hill		Two Bridges		IS 201	
	More Infl	Less Infl	More Infl	Less Infl	More Infl	Less Infl	More Infl	Less Infl
Political Activity								
Attended political rally	24	13	24	8	25	9	23	22
Wrote/spoke to public official	28	17	39	11	30	18	15	24
Belong to political org'n	20	4	23	3	23	7	14	3
Participated in rent strike	15	4	19	6	10	-	25	3
Joined picket line	27	7	36	15	23	2	21	3
Boycotted store	19	4	31	5	14	2	11	5
Boycotted school	28	10	47	15	18	5	17	8
Joined demonstration	31	10	43	18	28	11	22	2
Went to LPB	19	7	25	11	20	2	10	5
Voting Behavior								
Voted for Mayor, 1965	49	48	38	40	63	49	48	55
Did not vote	40	48	48	58	27	40	45	43
Not sure	10	4	14	2	9	12	7	2
Voted for LPB	39	13	29	7	40	18	49	13
Did not vote	50	74	60	84	45	62	44	75
Not sure	11	13	11	9	16	21	6	13

of the parents favoring less community influence had written or spoken to someone in a political office; 13 per cent of them had gone to a political rally; less than 10 per cent had engaged in any one of the activities mentioned. Those parents in Ocean Hill-Brownsville who supported more community influence appeared to be much more active than their counterparts in the other two demonstration districts. Nearly half of the Ocean Hill parents had kept their children out of school as a form of protest; two-fifths had demonstrated and/or written or spoken to someone holding political office.

Nearly one-third of the parents in the demonstration projects reported that they had voted when given an opportunity to elect members of the LPB in the previous year (see Table VII.10). However, less than a quarter voted in Ocean Hill-Brownsville, while two-fifths voted in IS 201. Three times as many of all parents who favored community influence (39 per cent) as parents who were opposed (13 per cent) voted in their own local elections. In Ocean Hill this ratio increased to four to one (29 per cent of parents favoring community influence voted, as did 7 per cent of parents who were opposed). These figures were almost as high as those for the IS 201 district, where one-half of the parents favoring influence voted, as did 13 per cent of those opposing community influence.

Furthermore, the parents who wished the community to have greater influence in educational decision-making were more likely to feel that the community would react positively if they should take a public stand on a controversial issue.(see Table VII.11). One-third of the parents wishing more community influence predicted that their friends would admire them for taking a stand and also that they would earn reputations as community leaders; one-fourth thought taking a public stand on controversial issues would help them on the job. Parents who preferred less community influence, on the other hand, were more apt to think that friends would ridicule them for taking a stand on an unpopular issue (34 per cent), that they would gain reputations as troublemakers (36 per cent) in the community, and that this action might cause them trouble on the job (24 per cent). In all project areas at least one-third of the respondents felt unsure about the reaction of the community.

The sense of sanctioning was strongest in the school arena. Nearly half the parents who wanted more community influence in the schools (58 per cent in IS 201) believed that the treatment of their children might be influenced if they themselves should protest the action of some school official. Those who wanted less influence were more unsure of the response of school officials.

Only slightly more parents favoring than opposing community influence belonged to their parents associations (47 per cent, compared to 40 per cent). There was no difference between the two groups of parents in their assessments of the PAs; two-thirds of each group in the total sample rated their association as either "very effective" or "somewhat effective." Interestingly, the parents in Ocean Hill-Brownsville and

TABLE VII.11

PARENTS' SENSE OF SANCTIONING AMONG FRIENDS, IN THE COMMUNITY, AND IN THE SCHOOLS (IN PER CENTS)

	Total		Ocean Hill		Two Bridges		IS 201	
	More Infl	Less Infl	More Infl	Less Infl	More Infl	Less Infl	More Infl	Less Infl
Respondent's Friends Would								
Admire	35	14	40	19	38	7	25	14
Ridicule	28	34	21	32	28	31	37	37
Not sure	35	52	38	49	33	62	34	47
Respondent Would Get Reputation As								
Community leader	30	15	36	17	32	9	21	17
Troublemaker	34	36	26	37	28	33	49	37
Not sure	35	49	37	46	40	58	29	44
Effect on Job Would								
Help	24	10	27	11	21	7	23	12
Make trouble	22	24	17	21	15	22	35	31
Not sure	51	64	49	67	63	71	41	56
Protesting Action of School Official Would Affect Treatment of Child in School								
Might influence	47	35	45	27	36	36	58	43
Would not influence	32	27	35	30	41	24	21	27
Not sure	21	38	20	43	22	40	21	30

IS 201 who favored more community influence (55 and 76 per cent, respectively) were less likely to rate their parents association as effective than the parents who opposed more community influence (61 and 84 per cent, respectively).

It was expected that more parents who supported greater community influence in the schools were "joiners," i.e., they were more likely to belong to organizations than the parents who opposed greater community influence. Fifty-one per cent of them belonged to some kind of organization, whether school, civic, religious, professional, or social. Two-thirds of the parents who preferred less community influence did not belong to any organization. Among all parents, however, membership in school or educational groups was second only to membership in religious groups.

When asked about the method of selecting members of the LPBs, 42 per cent of all parents who advocated more community influence thought that board members should be elected by the parents or the community. Of the parents in IS 201 and Ocean Hill who favored more community influence, roughly the same proportions thought that a majority of the board members should be elected by the community and the rest chosen by the Mayor and the New York City Board of Education (36 and 40 per cent, respectively) as thought that the community should elect all members (35 and 44 per cent, respectively). Thirty-three and 40 per cent of those parents in Ocean Hill and IS 201, respectively, who favored less community influence recommended that the community elect a majority of the board members and the Mayor and theBoard of Education name the rest. One-fourth of all the parents opposed to more community influence thought that the New York City Board of Education should designate all LPB members.

Demonstration school parents did not unanimously advocate the improvement of segregated schools as the best way to improve education in general (see Table VII.12). Over half the parents in both groups (those favoring and opposing community influence) thought it better to concentrate on integrating the schools rather than improving the segregated schools. Three-fifths of the parents in the Ocean Hill district who supported more community influence held this opinion.

Nor did the busing of students within New York City gain unanimous support. Those Ocean Hill parents who preferred more community influence showed greater support for the busing plan (53 per cent) than those parents who opposed more community influence (45 per cent). However, the reverse was true in the IS 201 district, where 49 per cent of the parents favoring more community influence chose busing, as did 67 per cent of those parents who were opposed. The majority of parents in the total sample who favored more community influence in school affairs supported, in a ratio of two to one (53 to 26 per cent), the expansion of the New York City school system to include parts of the suburbs just outside the city in some kind of metropolitan school district.

The greatest difference between those parents desiring more community influence and those desiring less appeared in their position on

TABLE VII.12

PARENTS' POSITIONS ON SCHOOL INTEGRATION, BUSING, AND EXPANDING THE SCHOOL SYSTEM (IN PER CENTS)

	Total		Ocean Hill		Two Bridges		IS 201	
	More Infl	Less Infl	More Infl	Less Infl	More Infl	Less Infl	More Infl	Less Infl
Integration								
Integrate schools	56	33	60	50	57	42	51	66
Improve segregated schools	34	30	36	40	23	18	43	30
Not sure	10	17	4	10	21	40	6	4
Busing within New York City								
Favor	43	41	53	45	26	11	49	62
Oppose	45	48	39	47	59	67	39	32
Not sure	12	11	8	8	15	22	13	6
Include Suburbs in New York City System								
Good idea	53	45	53	42	40	28	65	64
Not good idea	26	29	23	25	30	30	25	30
Not sure	21	26	24	33	30	42	10	6

decentralization and the Ocean Hill-Brownsville teacher dispute (see Table VII.13). Five times as many parents desiring more community influence (73 per cent) as desiring less (15 per cent) supported decentralization. Those desiring more community influence outnumbered those desiring less by a ratio of four to one when it came to supporting the Ocean Hill project board in its dispute with the teachers.

Conclusion

The following generalizations can be drawn from the results of the survey:

In summary, there are some significant differences between those parents who want more influence and those who want less. Yet it should be noted that twice as many parents in all three school districts favor an increase rather than a decrease in community influence. The parents who support increased influence are slightly better educated, but other socio-economic factors, such as occupation and size of family income, have little or no bearing on their demands for more community influence in educational matters.

Those parents who believe that the community should have a greater degree of influence in shaping the character and content of their children's education are more critical of the school system--its facilities, services, programs, and administration. They are more critical of the professional educators. At the same time they view the local project administrators more positively than do the parents who favor less community influence. To most parents "community influence" appears to mean "parent influence," yet their concept also includes an important role for the professionals.

The survey showed not only that larger proportions of the parents wanting more influence in the educational system advocate the "usual" ways of exerting this influence--writing letters, electing better public officials--but also that three times as many of them emphasize the importance of having community groups legally in charge of the schools as of those who want less influence. While "active participants" are a minority of all the parents, there certainly are more "activists" among those seeking more influence than among those seeking less. Those who want more influence also are more likely to perceive these activities as being less severely sanctioned by their friends and the communities where they live. These parents are the "joiners" in the community. Because they are more accustomed to working with others, they are more likely to perceive the benefits of organizational strength.

Clearly, there is a strong desire among a majority of parents for greater community influence in educational matters. They want to take part in the decisions that determine what their children learn, how they

TABLE VII.13

PARENTS' POSITIONS ON DECENTRALIZATION AND THE OCEAN HILL-BROWNSVILLE TEACHER DISPUTE (IN PER CENTS)

	Total		Ocean Hill		Two Bridges		IS 201	
	More Infl	Less Infl	More Infl	Less Infl	More Infl	Less Infl	More Infl	Less Infl
Position on Decentralization								
Support	73	15	76	13	74	2	70	27
Oppose	11	74	12	84	14	93	7	46
Not sure	16	12	11	3	13	4	23	27
Position on OH-B Dispute								
Support OH-B Project	45	9	45	13	38	2	52	12
Support teachers	18	40	20	52	21	42	12	23
Neither	8	9	8	12	4	13	12	2
Not sure	29	42	27	23	38	42	24	63

are taught, and who teaches them. Now they are demanding greater influence over the institutions that shape their lives.

Inasmuch as the majority of parents strongly advocate a greater voice in the educational process, steps should be taken to assure that greater opportunities are available for parents to find adequate outlets for their desires to influence educational decision-making. If these opportunities are neither available nor actually functioning, the parents are more likely to seek other means of expressing their demands.

CHAPTER VIII

THE POLITICALLY RELEVANT AND THE APOLITICALS VIEW THEIR SCHOOLS[1]

Most attempts to effect significant political change involve small proportions of politically relevant persons who may or may not be organized. The important aspect is that they are politicized--that is, sensitized to the political dimension of life. Some of these people are manifest leaders, while others may be latent leaders. Therefore, it is useful to distinguish between parents who are more involved and influential and those who are less so, for parents with considerable influence in school matters play an important part in shaping the goals and objectives as well as the strategies and tactics of change that are intended to improve the lot of their children. It is important to understand their perceptions, sentiments, and attitudes as we analyze the events and controversies that mark the efforts to secure decdntralization and/or community control of the schools.

This chapter is an attempt to evaluate and compare the views of those parents having high influence with those having medium and low influence. We have developed an index to measure political influence in The Rulers and the Ruled.[2] This index consists of the activities of the parents in discussing school affairs, attending meetings, taking an active part in local community affairs, and holding membership in educational organizations. The parents in the present study were classified as having high, medium, or low influence, depending upon the score they received on a scale ranging from 0 to 3.

A parent with high influence is one who has taken an active part in local community affairs as well as either discussing school affairs or attending meetings where educational subjects were discussed. In addition, these parents belong to an educational organization which attempts to affect school policy. A parent with low influence has not participated at all in school affairs. A parent with medium influence, on the other hand, has engaged in some combination of activities and therefore has a moderate opportunity to influence educationa. matters.

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[1] This chapter is a revision of an article to be published in The Journal of Politics.

[2] Robert E. Agger, Daniel Goldrich, and Bert E. Swanson, The Rulers and the Ruled: Political Power and Impotence in American Communities (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1964), pp. 705-707.

As expected, the high influentials in our sample were few in number, comprising only 65 (or 10 per cent) of the total sample in all three demonstration project areas. However, it is the parents with a high degree of influence who are seen and heard in the community, who are most likely to determine the positions taken by organizations, such as the parents associations, and who take an active part in the educational community. For this reason, it was important to know the attitudes of this group in our sample and to understand how they differed from those of the low influentials, who numbered 285 (or 46 per cent). For purposes of this discussion and analysis, we have labeled and compared the views of the politically relevant (the high influentials) with those of the apoliticals (the low influentials). The sample also includes the medium influentials, who totaled 272 (or 44 per cent).

The Contrasting Socio-Economic Characteristics of the Parents

Comparatively speaking, the politically relevant had a higher socio-economic status than either the medium or the low influentials. More of the former had finished high school or had some college education, thus following the normal pattern of highly active and influential citizens in American communities.[1] They had higher family incomes and a larger proportion of them held white-collar jobs (see Table VIII.1).

Nearly two-thirds of the politically relevant were Negroes, compared to half of the apoliticals. Approximately one-quarter of the politically relevant were Puerto Ricans, as were half of the apoliticals.

Fifteen per cent of the politically relevant had had some college education, compared to only 3 per cent of either the medium or the low influentials. One-third of the high influentials had finished high school, whereas only one-fifth of the low influentials had done so. The largest percentages in all three groups had completed from the ninth to the eleventh grades--one-third of both the politically relevant and apoliticals and 40 per cent of the medium influentials. However, less than one-fifth of the politically relevant had an education of eighth grade or less, compared to two-fifths of the low influentials.

Parents' Assessment of School Facilities, Services, and Programs

The politically relevant and the apoliticals generally agreed in their assessment of educational facilities and services. However, there were some significant differences in their views of the school programs.

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[1] Lester Milbreath, Political Participation (Chicago, Ill.: Rand McNally, 1965).

TABLE VIII.1

SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF PARENTS IN DEMONSTRATION PROJECTS (IN PER CENTS)

		Influence	
	Low	Medium	High
Race/Ethnicity			
White	6	6	3
Negro	52	62	65
Puerto Rican	34	25	27
Oriental	7	6	3
Not sure	1	1	2
Level of Education			
6th grade or less	21	12	3
7th-8th grade	22	15	16
9th-11th grade	34	40	35
Finished high school	20	30	32
Some college	3	3	15
Total Family Income			
Under $3,000	23	22	13
$3,000-$4,999	34	33	23
$5,000-$6,999	35	33	38
$7,000 or more	8	13	27
Occupation of Head of Household			
White-collar	9	11	17
Blue-collar	60	55	68
Not employed	31	34	15
Birthplace			
New York City	15	20	25
South	38	45	42
Puerto Rico	31	24	25
Outside NYC--not South	6	4	3
West Indies	3	2	3
Other	7	4	2

Parents in all groups were almost equally divided in their positive and negative views of school buildings and school lunch programs. They were more positive than negative in their assessments of guidance counseling, programs like Head Start, and special programs for the gifted (see Table VIII.2). However, more of the politically relevant (35 per cent) had a negative view of the gifted students' program than did the apoliticals (19 per cent).

The major differences between the politically relevant and the apoliticals occurred in their assessments of curriculum and textbooks. Sixty-four per cent of the politically relevant rated the curriculum negatively, compared to 47 per cent of the apoliticals, who judged the curriculum positively. In other words, more than three-fifths of the politically relevant assessed the curriculum negatively, compared to less than one-third of them who judged it positively. The apoliticals, on the other hand, were divided: slightly over one-third assessed the curriculum negatively, whereas nearly one-half assessed it positively. Fifty-four per cent of the high influentials rated textbooks negatively, whereas only 31 per cent of the apoliticals made this judgment. Conversely, only 41 per cent of the politically relevant assessed textbooks positively, whereas 58 per cent of the apoliticals gave them a positive assessment.

Parents' Assessment of Teachers

A striking difference appeared between the politically relevant parents and the apolitical ones in their assessment of teachers generally as well as in specific relationships (see Table VIII.3). There was a reverse relationship in almost all cases between the proportion of the politically relevant who assessed the teachers negatively and the apoliticals who assessed them positively. There was very little uncertainty in this area of parental assessment of the teachers--less than 10 per cent.

When rating the performance of teachers, 55 per cent of the politically relevant gave a negative assessment, whereas 56 per cent of the apoliticals assessed the teachers positively. The largest proportion of the politically relevant (34 per cent) believed that the teachers were hardly interested at all in their children, compared to only half as many of the apoliticals (17 per cent) who believed this way. In fact, the largest proportion of the apoliticals (51 per cent) thought that teachers are somewhat interested in their children and one-quarter of them believed that teachers are very interested. Over one-half of the highly relevant perceived teachers as not understanding their children or the children's life in the district, whereas the same proportions of the apoliticals believed that they do have this understanding. Furthermore, over one-half of the politically relevant assessed parent-teacher relationships negatively, compared to 58 per cent of the apoliticals

TABLE VIII.2

PARENTS' ASSESSMENT OF SCHOOL FACILITIES, SERVICES, AND PROGRAMS (IN PER CENTS)

	Influence Low	 Medium	 High
Textbooks			
Positive*	58	48	41
Negative**	31	41	54
Not sure	11	10	5
School Buildings			
Positive*	50	54	52
Negative**	45	44	47
Not sure	3	1	-
School Lunches			
Positive*	47	41	47
Negative**	42	50	50
Not sure	10	8	2
Guidance Counseling			
Positive*	46	46	50
Negative**	26	39	35
Not sure	18	13	14
Programs Like Head Start			
Positive*	58	60	61
Negative**	18	14	23
Not sure	24	24	16
Special Programs for Gifted Students			
Positive*	39	44	36
Negative**	19	21	35
Not sure	40	33	30
Curriculum			
Positive*	47	40	31
Negative**	38	53	64
Not sure	15	8	5

*Positive: Respondents gave rating of "excellent" or "pretty good"
**Negative: Respondents gave rating of "only fair" or "poor"

TABLE VIII.3

PARENTS' ASSESSMENT OF TEACHERS
(IN PER CENTS)

		Influence	
	Low	Medium	High
Teachers' Performance			
Positive*	56	42	41
Negative**	38	52	55
Not sure	5	5	3
Teachers' Interest in Children			
Very interested	26	22	29
Somewhat interested	51	44	29
Hardly interested	17	29	34
Not sure	6	6	8
Understanding of Children and District Life			
Positive*	53	39	43
Negative**	39	53	53
Not sure	8	7	5
Parent-teacher Relations			
Positive*	58	48	41
Negative**	32	46	55
Not sure	8	5	3
Student-teacher Relations			
Positive	58	41	35
Negative	35	49	56
Not sure	6	7	8

*Positive: Respondents gave rating of "excellent" or "pretty good"
**Negative: Respondents gave rating of "only fair" or "poor"

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who assessed them positively. Similarly, 56 per cent of the politically relevant viewed student-teacher relationships negatively and 58 per cent of the apoliticals viewed them positively.

More than three times as many of the politically relevant (27 per cent) as apoliticals (8 per cent) earned family incomes of $7,000 a year or higher. The largest proportion (one-third) of all three groups earned between $5,000 and $6,999. Only one-fifth of the high influentials earned between $3,000 and $4,999, whereas one-third of the other two groups were in this category. One-fourth of the low and medium influentials earned under $3,000, compared to 13 per cent of the politically relevant.

Most of the parents were blue-collar workers--two-thirds of the politically relevant, over one-half of the medium influentials, and three-fifths of the apoliticals. Twice as many (17 per cent) of the high influentials were employed in white-collar jobs as were low influentials (9 per cent).

About two-fifths of all parents were born in the South. More of the politically relevant (one-quarter) were born in New York City than were the low influentials (15 per cent). Familiarity with the political system may account for this political relevance. About one-quarter of both the politically relevant and the medium influentials were born in Puerto Rico, compared to about one-third of the low influentials.

Assessment of Educational Leadership

There were appreciable differences between the politically relevant and the apoliticals regarding the positive or negative attitudes they expressed about key school personnel (see Table VIII.4). The Board of Education was viewed in the most negative terms by three-quarters of the politically relevant and half the apoliticals. The project administrators of the three projects, however, were viewed positively by half the high influentials, whereas only a quarter of the low influentials shared this opinion. Only a fifth of the politically relevant viewed the project administrators negatively, compared to a quarter of the apoliticals. With regard to the attitudes toward the local project boards, 42 per cent of the politically relevant and 36 per cent of the apoliticals viewed the LPBs positively. With regard to the school principals, 48 per cent of the high influentials held positive views, compared to 59 per cent of the low influentials. In most cases those having medium influence were somewhere between the high and the low influentials.

The politically relevant and the apoliticals differed in their opinions of who is influential in educational decision-making on a scale of very important, somewhat important, hardly important, and not sure (see Table VIII.5). Thirty-four per cent of the politically relevant considered the Superintendent of Schools very important, compared

TABLE VIII.4

PARENTS' ASSESSMENT OF SCHOOL OFFICIALS
(IN PER CENTS)

		Influence	
	Low	Medium	High
Board of Education			
Positive*	37	34	15
Negative**	48	62	77
Not sure	12	4	8
Unit Administrator			
Positive*	23	26	50
Negative**	26	35	19
Not sure	52	39	31
Local Project Board			
Positive*	36	31	42
Negative**	34	44	39
Not sure	30	25	20
Principals			
Positive*	59	49	48
Negative**	28	41	44
Not sure	12	11	8

*Positive: Respondents gave rating of "excellent" or "pretty good"
**Negative: Respondents gave rating of "only fair" or "poor"

TABLE VIII.5

PARENTS' ASSESSMENT OF WHO IS INFLUENTIAL IN SCHOOL AFFAIRS (IN PER CENTS)

	Influence		
	Low	Medium	High
Superintendent of Schools			
Very important	43	50	34
Somewhat important	35	29	38
Hardly important	6	12	20
Not sure	13	10	8
Board of Education			
Very important	51	54	46
Somewhat important	32	30	21
Hardly important	8	11	24
Not sure	9	5	8
State Commissioner of Education			
Very important	41	41	40
Somewhat important	34	29	19
Hardly important	8	14	24
Not sure	17	14	14
Local Project Board			
Very important	40	43	53
Somewhat important	28	27	30
Hardly important	12	12	13
Not sure	20	15	8
Unit Administrator			
Very important	36	42	56
Somewhat important	29	29	20
Hardly important	12	11	11
Not sure	21	17	11
Local Principals			
Very important	52	48	50
Somewhat important	31	29	30
Hardly important	10	16	16
Not sure	7	8	5
The UFT			
Very important	29	27	27
Somewhat important	32	28	23
Hardly important	18	27	38
Not sure	21	17	13

to 43 per cent of the apoliticals. Two-fifths of both high and low influentials considered the State Commissioner of Education very important. Fifty-three per cent of the politically relevant rated the LPB very important, compared to two-fifths of the apoliticals. Fifty-six per cent of the high influentials considered the local project administrator very important, while only 36 per cent of the low influentials agreed. There was close agreement on the importance of the principals, with half of each group rating these officials as very important. Generally, more than half the politically relevant perceived the local decision-makers as very important, a designation which less than half of them accorded the city and state authorities. The apoliticals were more evenly divided in their attitudes, with a greater proportion of them "not sure" of the importance of all decision-makers.

Parents were asked to assess how they believed school officials would respond to their problems (see Table VIII.6). They were given the following choices of response: the school officials would "understand and try to help," they would "listen and pass the buck" they would "ignore," or the parents were "not sure." A third of the politically relevant believed that the Board of Education would "listen and pass the buck," while a quarter of the apoliticals held this opinion. Again, assessing the Board of Education, 30 per cent cent of the politically relevant thought the Board would "understand and try to help," while 44 per cent of the apoliticals held this more trusting view of the Board. Fifty-eight per cent of the high influentials expected that the local project administrator would "understand and try to help," while only 38 per cent of the low influentials expected this kind of response. Two-thirds of the high influentials thought the local project board would "understand and try to help," as did half of the apoliticals. There was a generally favorable attitude toward the principals and teachers, who were expected to "understand and try to help" by over 60 per cent of all parents--high, medium, and low influentials. Again, a greater percentage of the low influentials were not sure how school officials would respond than of either the medium or high influentials.

The parents were asked whether school officials generally would try to do what "most parents in the neighborhood want," what "those with more influence want," or "act on their own" (see Table VIII.7). More than half of the politically relevant believed that the local project board would do what parents wanted and 45 per cent believed that the project administrator would respond to the parents' wishes. On the other hand, less than one-quarter of the politically relevant thought that the Board of Education would do what the parents wanted. Less than one-fifth of all parents--high, medium, and low influentials--believed that either the local project board or the project administrator would "act on their own," whereas the largest percentage (38 per cent) of the politically relevant believed that the Board of Education would "act on its own," as did one-half of the medium and one-third of the low influentials. A third of the politically relevant believed that the Board of Education would do what "those with more influence want," whereas only about 10 per cent of this group thought that the local project board

TABLE VIII.6

PARENTS' ASSESSMENT OF HOW SCHOOL OFFICIALS WOULD RESPOND TO PARENTAL PROBLEMS (IN PER CENTS)

	Influence		
	Low	Medium	High
Board of Education			
Understand/try to help	44	38	30
Listen/avoid doing anything	26	24	39
Ignore	14	25	20
Not sure	16	13	9
Unit Administrator			
Understand/try to help	38	48	58
Listen/avoid doing anything	19	16	13
Ignore	5	7	6
Not sure	37	27	23
Local Project Board			
Understand/try to help	49	60	64
Listen/avoid doing anything	15	10	13
Ignore	3	6	5
Not sure	33	24	19
Principals			
Understand/try to help	68	62	61
Listen/avoid doing anything	14	22	23
Ignore	4	8	13
Not sure	14	9	3
Teachers			
Understand/try to help	69	61	66
Listen/avoid doing anything	12	17	22
Ignore	3	9	3
Not sure	16	12	9

TABLE VIII.7

PARENTS' ASSESSMENT OF WHOM SCHOOL OFFICIALS RESPOND TO MOST (IN PER CENTS)

		Influence	
	Low	Medium	High
Board of Education			
Parents/neighborhood	26	21	22
Influentials	19	17	34
Act on own	37	50	38
Not sure	18	12	6
Unit Administrator			
Parents/neighborhood	26	29	45
Influentials	20	19	11
Act on own	16	21	17
Not sure	38	30	27
Project Board			
Parents/neighborhood	37	43	60
Influentials	10	13	8
Act on own	17	19	18
Not sure	37	26	14

or the unit administrator would respond to "those with more influence." More than one-third of the apoliticals were unsure to whom the project administrator or the local project board would respond, whereas less than one-fifth were unsure about the Board of Education.

The Parents' Desire for Influence in the Schools

The parents were asked a series of questions to determine their assessment of the amount of influence the community had in the schools, both in general and in specific educational areas (see Table VIII.8). Although the largest percentage of all parents thought the community had "too little" influence, the politically relevant revealed the highest degree of dissatisfaction of any group. Nearly two-thirds of the high influentials thought the community had "too little" influence in running the schools, compared to one-third of the apoliticals. Only about 10 per cent of the politically relevant and about one-fifth of the apoliticals thought the community had "too much influence" in running the schools. In both cases the responses of the medium influentials ranked between those of the other two groups.

A composite score was constructed to identify those parents who favored more community influence and those who favored less.[1] As expected, more than three-quarters of the politically relevant wanted the community to have more influence, compared to less than half the apoliticals. An even larger proportion (91 per cent) of the politically relevant in the Ocean Hill-Brownsville project wanted more community influence, an opinion shared by 60 per cent of the apoliticals. These statistics may be compared with the 84 per cent of the politically relevant and 61 per cent of the apoliticals in the Two Bridges project who wanted more influence and with the 74 and 63 per cent, respectively, of those in the IS 201 project.

With regard to determining curriculum, nearly 60 per cent of the high influentials thought the community had "too little" influence, compared to 40 per cent of the low influentials. Only about 10 per cent of all three groups thought it had "too much" influence. Fourteen per cent of the high influentials believed the community had the "right amount" of influence, whereas about one-quarter of both medium and low influentials shared this feeling.

Nearly two-thirds of the politically relevant believed that the community had "too little" influence in determining how to spend the money allocated to the schools, whereas only slightly over one-third of

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[1] For an explanation of how the scores were determined, see page 142.

TABLE VIII.8

PARENTS' ASSESSMENT OF COMMUNITY INFLUENCE IN RUNNING THE SCHOOLS (IN PER CENTS)

		Influence	
	Low	Medium	High
Does Community Have Too Much Influence in Running the Schools?			
Too much	18	16	11
Too little	34	46	63
Right amount	23	18	14
Not sure	26	20	12
Present Degree of Community Influence Compared to a Year Ago			
Too much	32	39	60
Too little	9	13	9
Right amount	25	22	22
Not sure	34	26	9
Does Community Have Too Much Influence to Determine:			
Curriculum			
Too much	9	11	11
Too little	40	50	58
Right amount	25	24	14
Not sure	26	15	17
How to spend money			
Too much	5	8	5
Too little	38	52	63
Right amount	21	15	6
Not sure	35	24	26
Hiring of teachers			
Too much	10	14	14
Too little	37	51	66
Right amount	20	21	9
Not sure	32	13	11
Removing of teachers			
Too much	11	18	15
Too little	35	48	58
Right amount	19	17	11
Not sure	34	16	14
Hiring of principals and supervisors			
Too much	8	16	11
Too little	37	46	65
Right amount	19	18	9
Not sure	36	19	15

TABLE VIII.8 (continued)

	Low	Medium	High
Removing of principals and supervisors			
Too much	9	18	11
Too little	34	45	65
Right amount	19	17	12
Not sure	37	20	12
General Attitude toward Decentralization			
Favor	37	49	71
Oppose	23	31	15
Not sure	40	20	14

the apoliticals agreed. All these groups generally agreed that the community did not have "too much" influence in this area; only 5 per cent of both high and low influentials and 8 per cent of the medium influentials disagreed with this evaluation. However, all three groups appeared to be less certain about budgetary matters, since one-quarter of both the high and the medium influentials and one-third of the low influentials answered that they were "not sure."

With regard to hiring and removing teachers and principals--perhaps the most controversial issue involved in decentralizing the schools--nearly two-thirds of the high, half of the medium, and one-third of the low influentials believed that their community had "too little" influence. About one-fifth of the low and medium influentials thought that the community had the "right amount" of influence, whereas only about 10 per cent of the politically relevant shared this opinion. Less than 15 per cent of the total sample thought that the community had "too much" influence in the hiring and removing of teachers; more of the high influentials thought the community had too much influence than did the apoliticals.

Parents were asked to compare the amount of community influence at present with that of a year before on a scale or more, less, the same, or not sure. The politically relevant were more accurate in their assessment, with 60 per cent believing that the community now had more influence, whereas only one-third of the apoliticals agreed. Approximately 10 per cent of all groups thought the community now had "less influence" and about one-quarter thought it had "the same." Less than one-tenth of the politically relevant were "not sure," whereas approximately one-quarter of the medium influentials and one-third of the apoliticals were "not sure."

Another measure of desiring more or less influence was provided by assessing parent attitudes toward decentralization. When asked whether they favored, opposed, or were not sure about decentralization, nearly three-fourths of the high influentials answered that they favored decentralization, as did one-half of the medium and over one-third of the low influentials. Only 15 per cent of the high influentials were opposed to decentralization, compared to nearly one-third of the medium and one-quarter of the low influentials. However, 40 per cent of the low influentials were "not sure" how they felt about decentralization, compared to one-fifth of the medium influentials and only 14 per cent of the high influentials.

Assessment of What Groups Would and Should Be Influential under Decentralization

When asked what groups would have influence in the schools under a decentralized system, 94 per cent of the high influentials indicated parent leaders, whereas only slightly more than half the medium and low influentials gave this answer (see Table VIII.9). Less than half of

TABLE VIII.9

PARENTS' ASSESSMENT OF WHAT GROUPS WOULD AND WHAT SINGLE GROUPS SHOULD BE INFLUENTIAL UNDER A STRONG DECENTRALIZATION PROGRAM (IN PER CENTS)

		Influence	
	Low	Medium	High
What Groups Would Be Influential?			
Parent leaders	55	58	94
Professional staff	56	47	44
Civic leaders	30	33	42
Religious leaders	20	24	22
Politicians	22	21	13
Poverty workers	17	15	25
Black militants	8	10	17
Not sure			
What Single Group Should Be Influential?			
Parent leaders	26	27	39
Professional staff	35	34	33
Civic leaders	3	8	5
Religious leaders	2	4	5
Politicians	-	3	2
Poverty workers	3	2	3
Black militants	2	2	2
Not sure	20	13	9

both the high and medium influentials believed that the professional staff would have influence, compared to 56 per cent of the apoliticals. Forty-two per cent of the politically relevant thought that civic leaders would have influence, whereas one-third of both the medium and low influentials held this expectation. Less than one-quarter of the total sample believed that religious leaders would have influence and about one-fifth thought that politicians would. One-fourth of the politically relevant said that poverty workers would have influence, whereas under one-fifth of both the medium and low influentials felt they would. Twice as many (17 per cent) of the politically relevant as of the apoliticals (8 per cent) believed that black militants would have influence. Two out of five of the politically relevant also believed that parent leaders should be influential in a strong decentralization plan; only a quarter of the apoliticals agreed. More apoliticals thought that the professional staff should have influence (35 per cent) than thought that parents should (26 per cent).

Political Activities and Ideologies

The parents were asked about their participation in any of a series of activities in the community (see Table VIII.10). In all cases, a much higher percentage of politically relevant than of either medium or low influentials had played active parts in these activities. Over four-fifths of the high influentials had written or spoken to a public official, whereas less than one-third of the medium and none of the low influentials had done so. More than half of the politically relevant had approached the local project board or the project administrator of their school district, whereas only one-sixth of the medium influentials and one-tenth of the apoliticals had done so. Twice as many politically relevant (54 per cent) had taken part in demonstrations as had medium influentials (26 per cent) and low influentials (only 10 per cent). Nearly half of the high influentials had attended political rallies, compared to one-fourth of the medium and only 6 per cent of the low influentials. Forty-three per cent of the politically relevant had joined picket lines, compared to less than one-quarter of the medium influentials and less than one-tenth of the apoliticals. Almost three times as many of the politically relevant (34 per cent) as apoliticals (12 per cent) had boycotted the schools. Over one-quarter of the high influentials belonged to a political organization; less than one-fifth of the medium and only 6 per cent of the low influentials were members. One-quarter of the politically relevant, compared to 15 per cent of the medium and 7 per cent of the low influentials, had boycotted stores. Finally, nearly one-quarter of the high influentials had participated in rent strikes, whereas only 13 per cent of the medium and 5 per cent of the low influentials had done so.

When asked what are the most effective methods to bring about improvements in the schools, the largest proportion (37 per cent) of the politically relevant indicated "having community groups legally in charge of the schools." Only 17 per cent of the apoliticals chose this

TABLE VIII.10

PARENTS' ACTIVITY AND THEIR ASSESSMENT OF THE MOST EFFECTIVE WAY TO BRING ABOUT IMPROVEMENT IN THE SCHOOLS (IN PER CENTS)

	Influence		
	Low	Medium	High
Parents' Activity			
Attend political rally	6	24	45
Write/speak to public official	-	29	85
Belong to political organization	6	18	28
Participate in rent strike	5	13	22
Join picket line	9	23	43
Boycott stores	7	15	25
Boycott school	12	22	34
Demonstrate	10	26	54
Go to LPB/unit administrator	-	16	54
Most Effective Way to Bring about Improvement in the Schools			
Write letters to responsible officials	24	24	25
Elect better public officials	40	30	20
Have community groups legally in charge of schools	17	22	37
Boycott the schools	1	5	6
Demonstrate for better candidates	8	11	17
Hold sit-ins in the schools	-	-	2
Burn the school down	-	-	-
Membership in Parent Association			
Yes	25	45	100
No	72	50	-
Not sure	3	5	-
Times Attended PA Meetings			
None	37	4	2
1-2	27	22	11
3-4	25	33	34
More than 4	-	33	52
Not sure	11	8	2

alternative. The largest proportion of apoliticals (40 per cent) instead chose "electing better public officials," while only half as many (20 per cent) of the politically relevant chose this alternative. Three times as many of the politically relevant (25 per cent) as apoliticals (9 per cent) preferred more direct action, such as "boycotting the schools," "sitting-in in the schools," and "demonstrating for better schools."

In terms of voting behavior the politically relevant were significanly more active and involved (see Table VIII. 11). A much larger proportion of them were registered to vote and had voted in the last mayoralty election. Twice as many politically relevant (two-thirds) as medium influentials (one-third) voted in the election for the local project board, and three times as many politically relevant (67 per cent) as apoliticals (20 per cent) voted.

When parents were asked whom they supported during the controversy in Ocean Hill-Brownsville over the transfer of teachers in the spring of 1968--the project officials, the teachers, neither, or not sure--the high influentials supported the project officials three times as strongly as the low influentials (56 per cent compared to 18 per cent; see Table VIII.12). About one-quarter of all three groups supported the teachers and less than 10 per cent of all three groups said "neither." More than twice as many of the politically relevant supported the project officials (56 per cent) as supported the teachers (23 per cent). By contrast, more of the apoliticals supported the teachers (26 per cent) than supported the project officials (18 per cent). Almost half of the apoliticals answered "not sure," as did one-third of the medium influentials, whereas less than one-fifth of the politically relevant were unsure.

One-third of the politically relevant considered themselves in the "middle of the road" as far as their political ideologies were concerned, while only one-quarter of both the medium and low influentials thus classified themselves. Twenty-eight per cent of the politically relevant considered themselves liberal, as did about one-third of the medium and one-fifth of the low influentials. Only 10 per cent of the politically relevant regarded themselves as conservative, compared to 17 per cent of the medium and 16 per cent of the low influentials. Thirteen per cent of the politically relevant said they held radical ideologies, compared to 5 per cent or less of both the medium influentials and the apoliticals. Over one-third of the low and one-quarter of the medium influentials were not sure of their political convictions, but only one-sixth of the politically relevant were unsure.

Several indices were used to provide measures of political efficacy, cynicism, and the preference of the community to have more or less influence in running the local schools (see Table VIII.13). On the first two indices respondents were classified as high, medium, or or low; on the last index, they were classified as wanting more or less influence. A high sense of efficacy appeared in the responses

TABLE VIII.11

PARENTS' VOTING BEHAVIOR
(IN PER CENTS)

		Influence	
	Low	Medium	High
Voted in 1965 Mayoralty Election			
Yes	40	53	60
No	48	42	30
Can't recall	12	5	10
Registered to Vote			
Yes	49	64	78
No	46	34	19
Not sure	5	2	3
Voted for Local Project Board			
Yes	20	31	67
No	63	56	23
Can't recall	17	13	10

TABLE VIII.12

PARENTS' POSITIONS IN OCEAN HILL-BROWNSVILLE CONTROVERSY AND THEIR POLITICAL PERSUASIONS (IN PER CENTS)

	Influence		
	Low	Medium	High
Who Would Support in Controversy			
Project official	18	35	56
Teachers	26	23	23
Neither	9	8	4
Not sure	46	35	18
Political Ideology			
Conservative	16	17	10
Middle of the road	26	25	33
Liberal	20	30	28
Radical	1	5	13
Not sure	37	23	16

TABLE VIII.13

PARENTS' POLITICAL IDEOLOGIES
(IN PER CENTS)

		Influence	
	Low	Medium	High
Political Cynicism			
High	24	31	22
Medium	47	46	57
Low	30	23	22
Political Efficacy			
High	19	22	37
Medium	56	53	45
Low	25	25	18
Want More/Less Influence			
Total sample wants more	47	58	77
Total sample wants less	28	29	15
Ocean Hill-Brownsville wants more	60	64	91
Ocean Hill-Brownsville wants less	40	36	9
Two Bridges wants more	61	74	84
Two Bridges wants less	39	26	16
IS 201 wants more	63	66	74
IS 201 wants less	37	34	26

of twice as many of the politically relevant (37 per cent) as of apoliticals (19 per cent). There was little difference among the high, medium, and low influentials on the scale of cynicism, but it is interesting to note that approximately one-half of all respondents measured a medium degree of cynicism. (see Table VIII.13). Nearly twice as many of the politically relevant (77 per cent) as apoliticals (47 per cent) wanted more influence. Five times as many of the politically relevant wanted more than wanted less influence. Ninety-one per cent of the politically relevant in Ocean Hill wanted more influence, as did 84 per cent of thehighly influential in Two Bridges and 74 per cent in IS 201.

An index also was constructed to measure the respondents' sense of sanctioning (see Table VIII.14). Four times as many of the politically relevant (46 per cent) as apoliticals (10 per cent) felt that they were not likely to be sanctioned if they acted against community sentiments. Similarly, twice as many of the apoliticals (19 per cent) as politically relevant (9 per cent) felt that they would be sanctioned if they acted in such a manner. However, even 45 per cent of the high influentials expected a medium degree of sanctioning, as did over half of the medium and nearly three-quarters of the low influentials.

More specifically, parents were asked what they believed the reaction of their friends and the community would be if they took an unpopular public stand on a controversial issue. Nearly five times as many of the politically relevant (61 per cent) as of the apoliticals (13 per cent) thought they would be admired by their friends. Twice as many of the apoliticals (29 per cent) as of the politically relevant (13 per cent) thought they would be ridiculed by friends. Nearly five times as many of the high influentials (56 per cent) as apoliticals (12 per cent) thought the community would look upon them as leaders rather than troublemakers for taking such a stand. Nearly three times as many of the apoliticals believed they would be regarded as troublemakers (33 per cent) as felt they would be considered leaders (12 per cent). Two-fifths of the politically relevant also thought such a stand would help them on their jobs, whereas only 7 per cent of the apoliticals believed this.

Finally, the parents were asked, "If you were to protest an action taken by school officials, do you think that it might influence the way your child was treated in school, or don't you think this would happen?" Two-fifths of all parents thought that such action might influence the treatment of their children. However, two-fifths of the high, one-third of the medium, and one-quarter of the low influentials did not think that such action would influence the treatment of their children. Less than one-quarter of the high influentials were unsure, compared to over one-third of the apoliticals.

TABLE VIII.14

PARENTS' SENSE OF SANCTIONING
(IN PER CENTS)

	Influence		
	Low	Medium	High
Sense of Sanctioning			
High	19	18	9
Medium	71	58	45
Low	10	24	46
Reaction Expected to Taking Public Stand on an Unpopular Issue			
Friends would:			
Admire me	13	29	61
Ridicule me	29	32	13
Not sure	56	38	25
Community would regard me as:			
Leader	12	28	56
Troublemaker	33	36	17
Not sure	54	36	25
It would help me get a job			
Help	7	23	41
Trouble	24	21	11
Not sure	66	53	45
Would Protest Affect Child?			
Might influence	41	41	39
Wouldn't happen	24	32	39
Not sure	35	27	22

Conclusion

This survey of parents in the three demonstration project has identified and compared the conceptions, attitudes, and behavior of high, medium, and low influentials. We have, of course, concentrated our analysis on the more significant contrasts between those with high influence (the politically relevant) and those with low influence (the apoliticals). We believe the views of the former are important and should be taken into account in trying to understand the voices and dynamics of the political processes which are calling for change and demanding more power and authority to improve the educational opportunities for students in disadvantaged areas of large cities. In one sense, the politically relevant constitute the leaders, or at least the latent leadership, in the movement for community control, not only in New York City but in many other big cities as well. In another sense, they are the prime focus of the many other competing forces--e.g., militants and professional educators--in their struggle to determine how best to educate urban children. The apoliticals, on the other hand, constitute a large, amorphous mass of people who, although seeming apathetic and/or alienated to the outsider, have a real concern for the education of their children. In these disadvantaged areas that are being mobilized and politicized, the apoliticals form the largest untapped reservoir of human energy and concern. They also constitute the body that potentially can register the greatest shift in parent sentiments and attitudes. This potential reaction may bring them into the political arena in support of the most vocal or effective leader or the prevailing ideology--militant black power or the programs of the professional educator--both of which are expressing the need for change.

This survey shows the highly critical view that the politically relevant, in contrast to the apoliticals, have of the public schools and also points up their higher expectations for greater educational outcomes for their children. They give less or little support to the public authorities of the establishment and expect and believe their own community leaders to be more responsive to the needs of the disadvantaged. They are making greater demands on the school system to change its politics, personnel, and structure. As they demand more influence and control in their local schools, they are, of course, most active in pursuit of their objectives. They have a greater sense of political efficacy and a much lower fear of being sanction. They are, therefore, a political force to be reckoned with, not only in the field of education but throughout the whole sweep of urban politics.

CHAPTER IX

TRANSITIONAL PARENT ATTITUDES IN THREE EDUCATIONAL SETTINGS

Introduction

If experience has an impact on the formation of attitudes and the shaping of behavior--and we believe that it does--then it is meaningful to examine and compare the attitudes of parents who live in different kinds of subcommunities and whose children are undergoing different kinds of educational experiences.

A survey was conducted of the attitudes of three groups of parents living in quite different settings in New York City. The first setting is the three demonstration project school districts that are discussed throughout this study. The 622 parents in the demonstration project areas live in predominantly disadvantaged minority group neighborhoods. However, they are experiencing all the dynamics of a power struggle that are implied in the move from parent participation to community control. One of the forces operating in some of these neighborhoods is the growing movement for black identity and separatism.

The second setting is that of the control group of 174 parents, predominantly Negro and Puerto Rican, who live in disadvantaged areas. Their children attend three schools with minority enrollments of over 85 per cent located near the three demonstration projects. These schools were selected as the control group because in many aspects of community and school conditions they match the schools in the three demonstration projects. These are special service schools which receive increased resources in the form of smaller pupil-teacher ratios and supporting personnel and facilities. However, no particular arrangement has been made by school officials either to further a racial mix or to increase parent-community involvement in the schools.

The third setting is composed of 49 parents living next to a middle class white community and having children who attend two elementary schools that are included in a community zoning program designed to enhance integration. The community zoning program provides a racial mix by sending to one school all the first-, second-, and third-graders from two elementary school zones, one predominantly white and one of a predominantly minority composition. Fourth-, fifth-, and sixth-graders from the same two zones attend the other elementary school. These schools, commonly called paired schools, also receive increased educational services. They also are part of the regular school district system. There have been attempts to maintain a working relationship between parents of different races in the parent associations of both schools.

This chapter reports on an analysis of the comparative attitudes, sentiments, and characteristic behaviors which these parents have in common and those in which they differ. It may be possible to learn from the findings how the different educational experiences of their children and the varying dynamics of parental participation in the educational arena affect parents' perceptions, the assessments of their schools, and the formation of their ideologies.

Socio-Economic Characteristics of the Parents

Although variations in education, income, place of birth, and race existed between the groups, there were some commonalities (see Table IX.1). The majority of all parents did not finish high school, they were born in places other than New York City, they had incomes below the citywide average, and they were Negro. The paired school parents were the best educated of the three groups. Although only 4 per cent of them had any college education, compared to 18 per cent of the control group and 3 per cent of the demonstration group parents, 35 per cent of them were high school graduates. Only 21 per cent of the control group parents and 26 per cent of the demonstration group parents had gone through the twelfth grade. More of the control group and the demonstration project parents (about one-third) had an eighth-grade education or less, compared to only one-fifth of the paired school parents.

There were more paired school parents (almost one-third) earning $3,000 or less than in the other two areas--11 per cent in the control group and 22 per cent in the demonstratinn project areas. Almost one-quarter of the parents in the control group earned from $7,000 to $9,999, whereas only 10 per cent in the demonstration projects and 17 per cent in the paired school area earned in this range. Few parents had incomes of $10,000 or more; the largest proportion (10 per cent) were among the paired school parents. Only 8 per cent of the control group and 2 per cent in the demonstration project areas earned over $10,000.

A substantially larger percentage of the paired school parents (63 per cent) were born in the South than were parents in the other groups (42 per cent of the demonstration project parents and 25 per cent of the control group parents). There were more Negroes in the paired school group (85 per cent) than in the other areas, where

TABLE IX.1

SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF PARENTS (IN PER CENTS)

	Control Group (N=174)	Paired Group (N=49)	Demonstration Group (N=622)
Education			
6th grade or less	16	4	15
7th-8th grade	23	16	18
9th-11th grade	21	41	37
Finished high school	21	35	26
Some college or more	18	4	3
Birthplace			
New York City	22	15	19
South	25	63	42
Puerto Rico	36	6	27
Other	16	16	12
Total Family Income			
Under $3,000	11	31	22
$3,000-$4,999	30	19	32
$5,000=$6,999	29	23	34
$7,000-$9,999	23	17	10
$10,000 or more	8	10	2
Race			
Negro	50	85	58
Puerto Rican	44	8	29
White	3	-	6
Other	3	-	7

Negroes made up about one-half of the sample. The control group parents had the largest proportion (44 per cent) of Puerto Ricans; there were 29 per cent in the demonstration project area, only 8 per cent in the paired school areas.

Parents' Positions on School Integration versus Segregation

Parents were asked whther they believed that efforts should be concentrated on integrating the schools or improving the segregated schools. The majority of all parents favored integration; the control group of parents were most in favor (62 per cent), followed by 54 per cent of the paired school parents and 55 per cent of the demonstration project parents (see Table IX.2). Ironically, the parents whose children were undergoing an integrated experience were most in favor of improving the segregated schools (38 per cent), whereas under one-third of the demonstration project and less than one-quarter of the control group parents favored improving segregated schools.

The control group parents (49 per cent) also were more willing to allow their children to be bused than were the paired school or the demonstration school parents (40 and 39 per cent, respectively). The demonstration project parents (47 per cent) were most opposed to busing, paired school parents were next (42 per cent opposed), and the control group parents were least opposed (one-third).

Over one-half of the paired school parents thought that metropolitan school districts were a good idea. Forty-seven per cent of the demonstration project parents held this opinion, whereas only 35 per cent of the control group parents agreed. About one-quarter of both control group and demonstration project parents thought metropolitan school districts were not a good idea, compared to 19 per cent of the paired school parents. Many parents were unsure: 41 per cent of the control group, 30 per cent of the paired group, and 26 per cent of the demonstration project parents.

Parental Cynicism, Actual Political Influence, and Sense of Sanctioning

Three times as many paired school parents (37 per cent) as control group parents (13 per cent) were classified as highly cynical, as were 27 per cent of the demonstration group parents. About one-quarter of all groups were classified as low in cynicism (see Table IX.3).

Few parents in all areas had political influence--three times as many of the control group parents (14 per cent) as paired school parents (4 per cent) were classified as politically relevant. Nearly one-half of all the parents were rated low in political influence.

TABLE IX.2

PARENTS' POSITIONS ON SCHOOL INTEGRATION/SEGREGATION (IN PER CENTS)

	Control Group (N=174)	Paired Group (N=49)	Demonstration Group (N=622)
Integration Versus Segregation			
Integrate schools	62	54	55
Improve segregated schools	23	38	32
Not sure	15	8	15
Busing			
Favor busing	49	40	39
Against busing	33	42	47
Not sure	18	18	14
Metropolitan Schools			
A good idea	35	51	47
Not a good idea	25	19	27
Not sure	41	30	26

TABLE IX.3

PARENTAL CYNICISM, ACTUAL POLITICAL INFLUENCE, AND SENSE OF SANCTIONING (IN PER CENTS)

	Control Group (N=174)	Paired Group (N=49)	Demonstration Group (N=622)
Degree of Cynicism			
High	13	37	27
Medium	62	41	47
Low	25	22	26
Degree of Political Influence			
High	14	4	10
Medium	38	43	44
Low	48	53	46
Sense of Sanctioning			
Reaction of friends			
Would admire	35	14	25
Would ridicule	13	31	28
Not sure	52	55	45
Would gain reputation as			
Community leader	40	12	24
Troublemaker	15	31	33
Not sure	45	55	43
Effect on the job			
Would help	28	4	18
Would cause trouble	24	18	21
Not sure	48	76	48
Influence in treatment of child in school			
Might influence	46	24	40
Would not influence	27	39	32
Not sure	27	37	29

The sense of sanctioning that would be expected from friends and in the community for taking a public stand on an unpopular issue was almost twice as strong among the paired school and the demonstration project parents as in the control group. On the other hand, more of the control group parents thought they might be sanctioned on the job or that the treatment of their children in school might be affected if they protested a school official's action. A substantial percentage of control group parents believed they would receive positive reactions from their friends or the community and on the job if they took a public stand, whereas a much smaller percentage of the other two groups expected any positive reaction. The sense of illegitimate sanctioning was highest among the paired school parents except when it concerned their children in school--in this case it was the lowest. That is, more of the paired school parents believed that their children would not be adversely affected if they (the parents) protested the action of a school official than believed they would be affected. Nearly half the parents in all groups were unsure of the reactions of their friends and the community to their taking a public stand. There was less uncertainty about sanctioning in the schools.

Nearly one-third of the paired school parents, 28 per cent of the demonstration project parents, but only 13 per cent of the control group parents thought their friends would ridicule them if they took a public stand on an unpopular issue. On the other hand, 35 per cent of the control group parents believed that their friends would admire them for taking a public stand, whereas only 25 per cent of the demonstration project parents and 14 per cent of the paired school parents believed they could expect this reaction.

Again, more of the control group parents (40 per cent) expected that the community would perceive them as leaders if they took a public stand on an issue that was unpopular. Their percentage was nearly twice that of the demonstration project parents (24 per cent) and over three times the proportion of the paired school parents (12 per cent). Conversely, twice as many (about one-third) of both paired school and demonstration project parents as control group parents (15 per cent) expected the community to look upon them as troublemakers. Approximately one-half of all parents were uncertain how the community would react to their taking such a position.

Perceptions differed over whether taking an unpopular stand would help or cause one trouble on the job. More control group parents (one-quarter expected trouble than did paired school (18 per cent) or demonstration project parents (21 per cent). However, the percentage of control group parents who thought this action would help them on the job exceeded the percentages of other groups. Twenty-eight per cent of the control group parents expected a positive reaction, whereas only 18 per cent of the demonstration group and 4 per cent of the paired school parents did. Many more of the paired school parents (78 per cent) were unsure than were demonstration project parents (58 per cent) or control group parents (48 per cent).

Nearly one-half of both the control group and the demonstration project parents expected that their protesting an action taken by a school official might influence the way in which their children were treated in school, whereas only one-quarter of the paired school parents had such expectations. In fact, more of the paired school parents thought this would not happen(39 per cent) than thought it would (24 per cent). Thirty-two per cent of the demonstration parents and 27 per cent of the control group parents did not think this protest would elicit any sanctions. Fewer parents (about one-third) were unsure in the school situation than in the other areas.

Parents' Assessment of the Teachers

A larger proportion of all parents rated teachers positively than negatively see Table IX.4). However, twice as many parents in the control group and in the paired schools rated teachers positively (about two-thirds) than negatively (about one-third), whereas the demonstration project parents were almost evenly divided (49 per cent positive, 47 per cent negative).

When asked to what degree they thought teachers were interested in their children, twice as many parents in the control group (32 per cent) and the paired schools (39 per cent) thought teachers were "very interested" as thought they were "hardly interested" (13 and 20 per cent, respectively). Parents in the demonstration projects were equally divided on this question; one-quarter thought teachers were "very interested" and the same proportion thought they were "hardly interested."

Slightly more parents in the demonstration schools gave a negative assessment (47 per cent) than gave a positive assessment (45 per cent) of whether or notthey believed that the teachers understood the problems facing their children. Sixty-one per cent of the control school parents rated the teachers positively and 39 per cent rated them negatively. The responses of the paired school parents were 55 per cent positive and 32 per cent negative.

Parents' Assessment of Public School Officials

There was little differentiation among parents in the three areas in their assessment of public school officials, with the exception of a lower positive rating for the local school board in the demonstration area and a higher positive rating for the principal in the paired school areas (see Table IX.5).

Nearly three-fifths of all parents rated the Board of Education negatively, whereas only about one-third rated the Board positively. Only the paired school parents rated their local school board more

TABLE IX.4

PARENTS' ASSESSMENT OF TEACHERS (IN PER CENTS)

	Control Group (N=174)	Paired Group (N=49)	Demonstration Group (N=622)
Teachers' Performance			
Positive*	64	65	49
Negative**	33	26	47
Not sure	3	8	5
Teachers' Interest in Children			
Very interested	32	39	25
Somewhat interested	53	35	45
Hardly interested	13	20	24
Not sure	2	6	6
Teachers' Understanding of Problems Facing Children			
Positive*	61	55	45
Negative**	39	32	47
Not sure	1	12	7

*Positive: Respondents gave rating of "excellent" or "pretty good"
**Negative: Respondents gave rating of "only fair" or "poor"

TABLE IX.5

PARENTS' ASSESSMENT OF PUBLIC SCHOOL OFFICIALS (IN PER CENTS)

	Control Group (N=174)	Paired Group (N=49)	Demonstration Group (N=622)
Board of Education			
Positive*	37	29	33
Negative**	55	58	58
Not sure	8	14	8
Local School Board			
Positive*	44	51	34
Negative**	49	47	39
Not sure	9	2	27
Principals			
Positive*	55	65	53
Negative**	34	13	36
Not sure	11	23	11

*Positive: Respondents gave rating of "excellent" or "pretty good"
**Negative: Respondents gave rating of "only fair" or "poor"

positively (51 per cent) than negatively (47 per cent). Almost as large a proportion of the demonstration project parents were unsure (27 per cent) how to rate their local project board as rated them positively (34 per cent) or negatively (39 per cent). Sixty-five per cent of the parents in the paired school areas rated their principals positively, compared to 55 per cent in the control group and 53 per cent in the demonstration projects. Almost three times as many parents in the control group (34 per cent) and in the demonstration project (36 per cent) rated the principal negatively as did those in the paired schools (13 per cent).

When asked whether the Board of Education and the local school boards generally did what parents wanted, what influentials wanted, or acted on their own, most parents believed that the Board of Education acted on its own or did what influentials wanted and that the local school boards did what the parents wanted (see Table IX.6). Parents in the control groups were a little more trusting of the Board of Education; slightly more than one-half of them believed the Board of Education would do what influentials wanted or act on its own, compared to 63 per cent of the other two groups who believed this way. Twice as many of the control group (27 per cent) and demonstration area parents (24 per cent) thought that the Board of Education would do what parents wanted as did the paired school parents (12 per cent). About one-quarter of the paired school parents were not sure.

Nearly one-half of all parents believed that the local school boards would do what the parents wanted. A larger proportion (21 per cent) of the control group parents believed the board would do what influentials wanted as did the other two groups (11 per cent). Many parents were notsure.

Parents generally were more cynical about the response of the Board of Education to their problems than about the responses of the local school boards, the principals, or the teachers (see Table IX.7). Parents of the paired school children placed the most trust in school officials, except in the case of the teachers, to whom the control group gave the largest positive response.

One-half of the parents in the paired schools believed that the Board of Education would understand their problems and try to help, whereas only 40 per cent of the demonstration project and 36 per cent of the control group parents believed this way. Nearly twice as many of the control group (41 per cent) and the demonstration group parents (47 per cent) as paired school parents (26 per cent) believed the Board of Education would listen but avoid doing anything or would simply ignore their problems.

More than three-quarters of the paired school parents said that the local school boards would understand and try to help, whereas 55 per cent of the demonstration project parents and 49 per cent of the control group parents thought this way. Many more parents from the control

IX.6

TABLE IX.6

PARENTS' SENSE OF THE ORIENTATION OF PUBLIC SCHOOL OFFICIALS (IN PER CENTS)

	Control Group (N=174)	Paired Group (N=49)	Demonstration Group (N=622)
Board of Education			
Would do what parents want	27	12	24
Would do what influentials want	22	18	20
Would act on own	34	45	43
Not sure	17	24	14
Local School Board			
Would do what parents want	48	47	42
Would do what influentials want	21	11	11
Would act on own	16	9	18
Not sure	16	34	29

TABLE IX.7

PARENTS' ASSESSMENT OF HOW PUBLIC SCHOOL OFFICIALS RESPOND TO PARENTAL PROBLEMS (IN PER CENTS)

	Control Group (N=174)	Paired Group (N=49)	Demonstration Group (N=622)
Board of Education			
Understand/try to help	36	49	40
Listen/avoid doing anything	24	13	27
Ignore	17	13	20
Not sure	23	26	14
Local School Board			
Understand/try to help	49	78	55
Listen/avoid doing anything	25	4	12
Ignore	6	2	4
Not sure	20	16	28
Principals			
Understand/try to help	71	71	64
Listen/avoid doing anything	15	10	19
Ignore	1	2	6
Not sure	12	17	11
Teachers			
Understand/try to help	87	75	65
Listen/avoid doing anything	9	8	15
Ignore	2	2	6
Not sure	3	15	14

group (25 per cent) believed that the LSBs would listen but avoid doing anything than from the other two groups (4 per cent of the paired school, 12 per cent of the demonstration project parents).

Seventy-one per cent of both the control group and the paired school parents assessed the principals as understanding, an opinion shared by 64 per cent of the demonstration project parents. More of the demonstration project parents (about 25 per cent) were cynical about the principal than were the other two groups.

The greatest majority of all parents thought the teachers would understand and try to help them. The most trusting were the control group parents, of whom 87 per cent said that the teachers would understand them, as did 75 per cent of the paired school and 65 per cent of the demonstration school parents.

Parents Favoring More/Less Influence in the Schools

On a scale derived from combining their belief that the community had too little or too much influence and their approval of or opposition to a strong decentralization plan, parents were classified as desiring more influence or less influence in running the schools (see Table IX.8). Although all groups favored more influence, the control group had the largest proportion expressing this desire (76 per cent). The demonstration project parents (55 per cent) came next, with the paired school parents following closely (51 per cent). Conversely, the paired school parents provided the largest percentage (35 per cent) favoring less influence, closely followed by the demonstration project parents (27 per cent). Very few (13 per cent) of the control group parents favored less influence.

The largest proportion of all parents thought the community generally had too little influence in running the schools. The greatest proportion of parents making this assessment were in the control group (62 per cent). Forty-nine per cent of the parents in the paired school sample also said the community had too little influence, as did 42 per cent of the demonstration project area. Sixteen per cent of those in the demonstration project stated that the community had too much influence, whereas only 2 per cent of the other groups made such an assessment.

A striking differential appeared when parents were asked to assess the degree of community influence in the current operation of the schools as compared to the previous year. Thirty-eight per cent of the demonstration project parents believed the community had more influence, whereas only 14 per cent of the paired school parents and 7 per cent of the control group parents made this assessment. Sixty-one per cent of the control group said that the amount of influence had remained the same, while over one-third of the paired school parents and less than one-quarter of the demonstration project parents thought the

TABLE IX.8

PARENTS FAVORING MORE/LESS INFLUENCE AND THEIR ASSESSMENT OF THE DEGREE OF COMMUNITY INFLUENCE IN SCHOOL AFFAIRS (IN PER CENTS)

	Control Group (N=174)	Paired Group (N=49)	Demonstration Group (N=622)
Favor More Influence	76	51	55
Favor Less Influence	13	35	27
General Amount of Influence in Running the Schools			
Too much	2	2	16
Too little	62	49	42
Right amount	23	20	20
Not sure	13	29	22
Amount of Influence Compared to a Year Ago			
More	7	14	38
Less	14	4	11
Same	61	39	23
Not sure	17	43	28
Attitude Toward Decentralization			
Positive*	57	28	46
Negative**	19	49	26
Not sure	24	22	28

*Positive: Respondents gave rating of "excellent" or "pretty good"
**Negative: Respondents gave rating of "only fair" or "poor"

degree of influence had stayed the same. Over 40 per cent of the paired school parents were not sure, compared to about one-quarter of the demonstration project parents and only 17 per cent of the control group parents who were uncertain.

The control group parents provided the largest percentage in favor of decentralization (57 per cent). This group was followed by the demonstration project parents, 46 per cent of whom had positive attitudes toward decentralization. Paired school parents were least in favor of decentralization (28 per cent). Conversely, 49 per cent of the paired school parents expressed negative views about decentralization, whereas 36 as only 26 per cent of the demonstration project and 19 per cent of the control group parents did so. Approximately one-quarter of all groups were unsure.

Parents' Assessment of Which Group Would and Which Group Should Be Influential under Decentralization

When asked which of several groups would have influence under a strong decentralization plan, most parents thought that parent leaders would have influence--64 per cent of the control group, 61 per cent of the demonstration project, and 54 per cent of the paired school parents (see Table IX.9). An even larger percentage of control group parents believed that the professional staff would have influence (65 per cent), although 51 per cent of the demonstration project parents also believed this. Only one-quarter of the paired school parents thought the professional staff would have influence. About one-third of all groups expected civic leaders to have influence under a strong decentralization plan.

Most parents believed that the professional staff should have the most influence under decentralization. Slightly under one-half of both the control group and the paired school parents believed this way, whereas slightly over one-third of the demonstration project parents made this choice. Less than one-quarter of all groups stated that parent leaders should have the most influence. No other group was singled out by more than 5 per cent of the parents. About one-fifth of the parents were not sure who should have the most influence.

Focus of Parents' Support in Ocean Hill-Brownsville Teacher Controversy

Parents were asked whom they support in the controversy in the Ocean Hill-Brownsville demonstration project in the spring of 1968--the local project board, the teachers, or neither. Twice as many of both control group and demonstration project parents (29 per cent each) supported the LPB as did paired school parents (15 per cent); see Table IX.10). Twice as many in the first two groups also supported the

TABLE IX.9

PARENTS' ASSESSMENT OF WHAT GROUPS WOULD AND WHAT SINGLE GROUPS SHOULD BE INFLUENTIAL UNDER A STRONG DECENTRALIZATION PROGRAM (IN PER CENTS)

	Control Group (N=174)	Paired Group (N=49)	Demonstration Group (N=622)
What Groups Would Be Influential			
Parent leaders	64	54	61
Professional staff	65	25	51
Civic leaders	31	33	33
Local politicians	29	10	20
Black militants	18	19	10
Local religious leaders	15	21	22
Local poverty workers	12	15	17
Not sure	11	21	13
What Single Group Should Be Influential			
Parent leaders	30	29	28
Professional staff	44	46	35
Civic leaders	1	-	5
Local politicians	-	-	2
Black militants	1	2	2
Local religious leaders	4	2	3
Local poverty workers	1	-	2
Not sure	16	21	16

TABLE IX.10

FOCUS OF PARENTS' SUPPORT IN OCEAN HILL-BROWNSVILLE CONTROVERSY (IN PER CENTS)

	Control Group (N=174)	Paired Group (N=49)	Demonstration Group (N=622)
Focus of Support			
Ocean Hill-Brownsville Project Board	29	15	29
Teachers	25	10	24
Neither	12	10	8
Not sure	34	65	38

teachers (one-quarter) as did the paired school parents (10 per cent). Nearly twice as many of the paired school parents (65 per cent) as control group (34 per cent) and demonstration project parents (38 per cent) expressed uncertainty.

Parents' Choice of Methods to Effectuate School Improvements

The three groups of parents differed substantially in their opinions of the most effective way to bring about school improvements. Fifty-five per cent of the control group parents thought the best method was to elect better public officials, whereas only 33 per cent of the demonstration project parents believed this and only a mere 4 per cent of the paired school parents (see Table IX.11). The largest proportion of paired school parents (42 per cent) thought that writing letters to officials was the best way, compared to one-quarter of the demonstration parents and only 18 per cent of the control group parents who selected this method. More paired school parents and demonstration project parents (21 per cent) than control group parents (14 per cent) believed the most effective way would be to have community groups in charge of the schools. Only a small proportion of all groups (13 per cent or less) believed that demonstrations and boycotting the schools were the most effective.

Political Behavior of the Parents

With regard to political behavior, the control group parents were by far the most active of the three groups, with the exception that more demonstration project parents had picketed or demonstrated than had parents in the other two groups (see Table IX.12). However, less than one-third of any group had joined in political or protest activities. The paired school parents were the least active--10 per cent or less had participated in any activity.

Three times as many control group parents (27 per cent) and twice as many demonstration project parents (18 per cent) had attended a political rally than had paired school parents (8 per cent). Approximately one-quarter of both control group and demonstration project parents had written to officials, whereas only 6 per cent of the paired group parents had done so. Twice as many of the control group parents (27 per cent) belonged to a political organization as parents of the demonstration projects (13 per cent); only 2 per cent of the paired school parents belonged to such an organization. More demonstration project (19 per cent) and control group parents (17 per cent) than paired school parents (2 per cent) hadpicketed. Three times as many control group (22 per cent) and demonstration project parents (19 per cent) had boycotted a school than had paired school parents (6 per cent). Twice as many of the first two groups (about one-fifth) as paired school parents (10 per cent) had demonstrated.

TABLE IX.11

PARENTS' CHOICE OF MOST EFFECTIVE WAY TO BRING ABOUT SCHOOL IMPROVEMENTS (IN PER CENTS)

	Control Group (N=174)	Paired Group (N=49)	Demonstration Group (N=622)
Choice of Method			
Elect better officials	55	4	33
Write letter to official	18	42	25
Have community group in charge of schools	14	21	21
Demonstrations	8	13	10
Boycott schools	2	6	3
Sit-in in schools	1	-	-
Burn down the schools	1	-	-
Not sure	8	19	10

TABLE IX.12

PARENTS' POLITICAL BEHAVIOR
(IN PER CENTS)

	Control Group (N=174)	Paired Group (N=49)	Demonstration Group (N=622)
Political Activity			
Attend political rallies	27	8	18
Write letters to officials	28	6	22
Belong to political organization	27	2	13
Participate in rent strike	11	2	10
Join picket lines	17	2	19
Boycott a store	16	-	13
Boycott schools	22	6	19
Demonstrate	20	10	22
Contact Local school board	11	8	13
Voting Behavior			
Registered to vote	76	48	59
Voted in mayoralty election, 1965	61	37	48

Finally, there were some significant differences among the groups in exercising the right to vote and in voter registration. A substantially larger percentage of control group parents (76 per cent) said that they were registered to vote than other parents (59 per cent of the demonstration project and 48 per cent of the paired school parents). Likewise, more of the control group (61 per cent) than of the other two groups had voted in the 1964 mayoralty election in New York City. Forty-eight per cent of the demonstration project parents and only 37 per cent of the paired school parents said that they had voted in that election.

Transitional Propositions

The demographic variations among the three sets of parents may explain in part some differences in attitudes, sentiments, and behaviors. Those parents interviewed whose children were experiencing a racially integrated education or, at least, a racially mixed environment, had the largest proportion of Negroes (85 per cent) and of persons born in the South (63 per cent), were generally better educated but were earning slightly less than the other two groups. The control group included the largest proportion of Puerto Ricans (44 per cent) and the lowest proportion of blacks (50 per cent), only one-half of whom had come from the South. More parents in the control group had received only an elementary school education, but the largest proportion of parents with some college or more (18 per cent) also appeared in this group. The demonstration group parents were somewhere in between these groups--racially, educationally, and financially.

The following ten propositions on transitional parent attitudes are offered as the foundation for a better understanding of the dynamics of change in urban education among disadvantaged people.

PROPOSITION I: The less experience a minority group has had with integration or community participation in the schools, the greater the desire for integration.

PROPOSITION II: The less experience a group has had with integration, the more it appears that improving the segregated school is antithetical to integration.

DISCUSSION: The control group whose children were experiencing neither a racially mixed education nor the struggle for community control were most in favor of concentrating on integration and least interested in improving the segregated schools, even though their children were attending segregated schools. They also were the most willing to have their children bused to accomplish this goal. In fact, this was the only group more in favor of busing than opposed to it. They were the least interested in a metropolitan school district. A majority of paired school and demonstration project parents also favored concentrating on integration--a choice to be expected from the paired school parents but not the demonstration project parents, as the latter were in the midst of a movement to establish black identity and control. However, a larger proportion of both paired school and demonstration project parents than of control group parents were in favor of improving the segregated schools.

PROPOSITION III: The more experience a group has had with an intercommunity struggle or one with citywide educational officials, the more cynical it is about the responsiveness of distant school officials.

DISCUSSION: Parents in the paired schools had a larger proportion of highly cynical persons than the other two groups. The paired school parents had been involved in an acrimonious struggle over the establishment of the community zoning plan. Moreover, the difficulty encountered by the community in getting the promises for quality education fulfilled through headquarters appears to have increased their cynicism.

PROPOSITION IV: Although disadvantaged communities have few political influentials, the more involved blacks are with whites in integrated decision-making settings, the fewer politically relevant persons there will be.

DISCUSSION: Few parents in any group (less than 10 per cent) were classified as political influentials. The paired school parents were the least involved, perhaps because they found it difficult and uncomfortable to work in a racially mixed environment. It is also possible that they felt no need to become active as they were more satisfied with the schools and did or could rely on experienced white leadership to pursue their ends.

PROPOSITION V: The more involved blacks are with whites, the more negative sanctioning they perceive. The more pluralistic the subcommunity, the lower the sense of negative sanctioning. The more that power arrangements are in a state of flux, the greater the sense of negative sanctioning.

DISCUSSION: The paired school parents had the highest sense of sanctioning of any group among their friends and in the community. They were the most uncertain (78 per cent) about sanctioning on the job. It is possible that this high sense of sanctioning is a holdover from conditions in the South; it may also have developed as a result of living on the fringe of a white area. The experiences of the bitter struggle over the establishment of the community zoning arrangement or the continuing problems associated with a desegregated setting may also contribute to this high sense of sanctioning. On the last point, the need in a desegregated school to cooperate with whites may cause those Negroes who do so to sense that Negro separatists disapprove. The paired school parents, however, had a low sense of sanctioning in the schools. That is, they felt relatively free to voice disapproval of actions by the authorities.

On the other hand, more control group parents felt that taking a public stand on an unpopular issue would earn them acclaim than expected to be sanctioned. However, the control group parents had the highest sense of sanctioning on the job, as well as a high one in the schools. The highly pluralistic nature of these subcommunities may have given the parents a sense that there was little sanctioning among their friends and in the community. However, on the job and in the schoolhouse, where strangers were in charge, they sensed a high degree of sanctioning. The demonstration group parents fell in between the other two groups--more of them felt a sense of sanctioning by friends, in the community, on the job, and in the schools than felt they would not be sanctioned. A sense of sanctioning might be expected in an area where power arrangements are in a state of flux. The demonstration project parents, however, had a lower sense of sanctioning in the schools than those in the control group but more than in the paired school group. Later (in May, 1968; see Chapter X), this sense of sanctioning decreased. The decrease might have been predicted in the demonstration project, for the outside educator was being removed and the schools were being administered and the children taught by their own community people or those selected by them.

PROPOSITION VI: The less the social distance between parents and educational leaders, the more positively these leaders are viewed by parents, unless the local leaders are extremely unresponsive to community needs.

DISCUSSION: All groups of parents had predominantly positive views of the teachers. The paired school parents had the most positive view, closely followed by the control group. Because the demonstration project parents had been exposed to the struggle with the teachers' union, it is understandable that they would take more negative views of the teachers. It is also possible that because the demonstration project parents were developing a sense of community, they felt freer to express their negative sentiments.

All parents held predominantly positive views of the principals, with the paired school parents providing the largest percentage of positive assessments and the lowest negative assessments.

PROPOSITION VII: The more socially distant the citywide or local authorities, whether because of elitism or nonrepresentativeness, the more negatively they are viewed by the local population.

DISCUSSION: All groups had predominantly negative views of the Board of Education. Certainly, the control group parents would consider the Board a remote authority which offered them no change in their status as a segregated school. Each of the other two groups had faced a struggle with the Board of Education for implementation of various educational innovations expected for their schools.

The most positive view of a local school board was held by the paired school parents, who had been helped by the LSB in their struggle for increased services. The other two groups had predominantly negative views of the LSB, perhaps because the demonstration projects still were unsure of their new board and because no change had occurred in the control group schools.

PROPOSITION VIII: The less influence a group has, the more it wants. The more that whites resist an integrated experience, the less a black group favors decentralization.

DISCUSSION: The largest proportion of all parents favored more influence in the schools. The control group parents comprised the largest proportion feeling that the community generally had too little influence in running the schools. This opinion might be expected, for the control group was least satisfied with its schools and had experienced the least amount of change. The control group also had the smallest proportion (7 per cent) believing that the community had gained in influence over the previous year. Moreover, since the control group most desired a greater degree of influence and since it was least satisfied with its LSB, this group could be expected to be most in favor of decentralization and the implied elected school boards. The demonstration parents also wanted more influence, but because they had experienced greater community influence under the demonstration project set-up and also had had their schools closed because of controversy, it is understandable that some of them opposed decentralization. The paired school parents, on the other hand, wanted more influence but a greater proportion of them also opposed decentralization. Probably they felt this way because it was only through the efforts of a citywide directive that overrode local resistance that their children were part of a racially mixed experience. Perhaps they believed, with good cause, that if the greater community were left to its own devices, there would be fewer desegregated schools.

The parents seemed to have paradoxical views of who would be influential and who should be influential under a strong decentralization plan. Although they believed that parent leaders would be influential under such a plan, they also believed that the professional staff should be influential as well. Their strong preference for decentralization, therefore, meant that they were willing to live with this paradoxical condition. These apparently contradictory beliefs were entirely consistent with their desire for more influence, their recognition of the importance of the professional, and their respect for expertise.

PROPOSITION IX: The less cynical the group and the less involved it is in the schools, the more it believes in the election of better officials as a means to bring about improvement in the schools. The more positive the view toward existing officials, the greater the belief that writing letters to officials is an effective way to produce change. The more effective the community has been in bringing about change, the greater the proportion that considers putting the community in charge of the schools to be the most effective method of improving education.

DISCUSSION: By far the largest proportion of control group parents selected the election of better officials as the best method to bring about change in the schools. On the other hand, the largest proportion of paired school parents believed that change would best be effected through writing letters to officials. The demonstration project parents favored electing better officials and writing letters to officials, but not by nearly as great a proportion as the other two groups. Finally, about one-fifth of both paired school and demonstration group parents chose putting community groups in charge of the schools, whereas only 14 per cent of the control group selected this means.

PROPOSITION X: The greater the desire for more influence, the greater the proportion of community activists. The greater the belief that electing better officials is the best method to bring about change, the larger the proportion of parents that register to vote and do vote.

DISCUSSION: The control group had thehighest rate of active political participation, followed closely by the demonstration project parents. The paired school parents, however, trailed behind--less than 10 per cent of them had taken any active role in community affairs. Possible explanations may include the fact that the control group parents had the highest percentage with some college education or more. The paired school parents also had the largest percentage coming from the South, where political participation has been discouraged. Also, the control group parents had experienced the least change in their schools and were the most desirous of change. The paired school parents were most satisfied with their schools and the least desirous of community control.

Moreover, a large proportion of control group parents was registered to vote (76 per cent) and had voted in the 1965 mayoralty election (61 per cent). Fifty-nine per cent of the demonstration project parents were registered and 48 per cent had voted. Only 48 per cent of the paired school parents were registered and only 37 per cent had voted in the 1965 mayoralty election. It should be remembered that both the control group and the demonstration project parents believed the best way to effect improvement was by electing better officials, whereas only 4 per cent of the paired school parents believed in this method.

Conclusion

To summarize, that group (the control group) which experienced the least change in its schools was the most in favor of integration and the most willing to have its children bused to achieve integration. This group expressed the greatest desire for more influence in the schools and was most in favor of decentralization. It was the most positive in its assessment of the teachers, the least critical of the Board of Education, but the most critical of the local school board. There was a smaller proportion of highly cynical parents in this group than in the other two groups. They felt the least sanctioned by their friends and in the community but the most sanctioned in the schools. More parents in this group were politically influential, more were political activists, more voted, and more believed that the best way to bring about improvement in the schools is to elect better officials.

The paired school parents, whose children were experiencing their education in a racially mixed school, were the least in favor of integration and the most in favor of improving education in the segregated schools. This group had the lowest percentage favoring more influence in the schools and was most opposed to decentralization. They were the most positive in their assessment of teachers, principals, and the LSB and the least positive in their assessment of the Board of Education. They were the most politically cynical and had the highest sense of sanctioning among friends and in the community, but felt the least sanctioning in the schools. They were the least politically active, had the lowest voting record and the smallest percentage of politically relevant. They were most in favor of bringing about school improvements by writing letters to officials.

The demonstration project parents were highly in favor of integration and somewhat in favor of improving the segregated schools. They were the least in favor of busing their children. This group was midway between the other two groups in its belief that the community had too little influence in running the schools and in its support for a strong decentralization plan. The demonstration group parents were the most negative in their assessment of teachers and principals. Although they were the least positive in their assessment of the LPB, they were also the most unsure about how to assess the LPB. They were less cynical than the paired school parents but twice as cynical as the control group parents. They expressed the highest sense of sanctioning in the community but fell between the other two groups in other measures of sanctioning. They were less active and had fewer of the politically relevant than the control group but more than the paired school parents. The demonstration group parents were more evenly divided than the other two groups as to whether the best method of bringing about school improvements was to elect better officials, write to officials, or put community groups in charge of the schools.

It is clear that the educational setting--integrated, segregated, decentralized--has considerable effect upon parent attitudes toward the schools, their officials, and the programs. Let us now examine the effect of confrontation on parent attitudes.

CHAPTER X

CHANGING PARENT ATTITUDES TOWARD EDUCATIONAL AFFAIRS IN THE OCEAN HILL-BROWNSVILLE CONTROVERSY

This chapter reports on the changes in sentiments, attitudes, and behavior of the parents in the Ocean Hill-Brownsville Demonstration School Project in New York City. Some 200 parents were interviewed in May, 1968, eight months after the project was established; another 200 were interviewed some eight months later in December, 1968. During these first sixteen months of its existence the project and the people involved were engaged in a major struggle against sizable odds to secure additional powers to control their own schools. They confronted the Board of Education, the United Federation of Teachers, and the Council of Supervisory Associations. Their efforts have been widely dramatized and publicized.

Beginning in May, at the time of the first survey, the district schools were closed for thirty-eight days when teachers walked out in a dispute over the question of whether the local project board and its administrators had the authority to transfer teachers involuntarily. At the time of the December survey the district was under the supervision of a state trustee as the result of the most prolonged teachers' strike in history against the entire system. The May walkout and the fall strike affected the parents of the Ocean Hill-Brownsville district in different ways. The former caused their children to stay out of school while the rest of the city system ran in an orderly fashion; the second, on the other hand, found the children in Ocean Hill-Brownsville attending school while most of the city system was closed down.

In addition to these two dramatic events, the general atmosphere of unrest, controversy, and conflict that continue to surround the Ocean Hill-Brownsville district has seriously affected not only the schools but the community as well. The local project board, its faculty, administrative staff, and supporters either have found themselves in a confrontation or have chosen to confront the larger system, its school officials, and political forces. The tension of the past year or so has had an impact not only on the educational program but on the sentiments, beliefs, and attitudes of the parents toward the larger system as well as toward the local schools, their activities, programs, and personnel.

This, then, is a chapter relating the change in parent attitudes from May to December.

Socio-Economic Characteristics of the Sample Population

The demographic characteristics of the samples of parents in both surveys were comparable (see Table X.1). There was only a slight difference in income between the two samples. Both surveys included parents having about the same amount of education, similar racial composition, and like proportions of residents born in similar areas.

Slightly more than one-sixth of the parents in both samples had annual incomes under $3,000. The proportion receiving from $3,000 to $4,999 was slightly larger in May than in December (about one-third and one-quarter, respectively). Twice as many parents in December (29 per cent) as in May (13 per cent) had incomes of $7,000 or more.

The largest proportion of respondents in both periods (about three-quarters) were Negroes, slightly less than one-quarter were Puerto Ricans, and whites comprised the remaining 4 per cent or less. Half of the parents interviewed were born in the South. Those born in Puerto Rico comprised one-fifth of both samples and another one-fifth were born in New York City.

Approximately one-third in both samples had an eighth-grade education or less. About one-quarter in both samples had finished high school.

Parents' Assessment of Neighborhood Schools

In December, 1968, parents were asked to rate the public schools in their neighborhoods as "excellent," "pretty good," "only fair," or "poor" (see Table X.2). Those rating the schools "excellent" or "pretty good" were considered to have a positive attitude toward the schools, while those rating the schools "fair" or "poor" were considered to have a negative attitude. In December slightly less than three-fifths held a negative view of the schools, about one-third had a positive view, and 6 per cent were unsure.

When asked whether or not they thought the schools had improved during the year in which the LPB had been in operation, more parents saw an improvement from May to December and fewer saw a deterioration during that time. In May, 8 per cent of the parents said the schools were "better" than the year before, whereas by December, 16 per cent said they had improved over the previous year. Also, in May slightly less than one-fifth said schools had remained the same. By December slightly over one-quarter said they were the same. In May over three-fifths said the

TABLE X.1

SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE PARENTS IN TWO SURVEYS IN OCEAN HILL-BROWNSVILLE (IN PER CENTS)

Characteristic	May, 1968	Dec., 1968
Education		
6th grade or less	13	15
7th-8th grade	16	15
9th-11th grade	39	36
High school graduate	27	25
Some college or more	5	10
Income		
Under $3,000	18	17
$3,000-$4,999	36	26
$5,000-$6,999	33	29
$7,000-$9,999	10	23
$10,000 or more	3	6
Race/Ethnicity		
White	4	2
Negro	71	75
Puerto Rican	24	23
Other	1	1
Birthplace		
New York City	18	21
South	51	48
Puerto Rico	21	20
Other	12	12

TABLE X.2

CHANGE IN PARENTS' ASSESSMENT OF SCHOOLS, PAST IMPROVEMENTS, AND EXPECTED IMPROVEMENTS (IN PER CENTS)

Assessment	May, 1968	Dec., 1968
Rating of Neighborhood School		
Positive*		36
Negative**		58
Not sure		6
Improvement over Past Year		
Better	8	16
Same	19	28
Not as good	61	43
Not sure	12	13
Predicted Improvement		
Get better	20	32
Stay the same	20	8
Get worse	38	32
Not sure	22	27

*Positive: Respondents gave rating of "excellent" or "pretty good"

**Negative: Respondents gave rating of "only fair" or "poor"

schools had declined, but by December only two-fifths felt this way. Slightly over 10 per cent in both periods were unsure.

Expectations for future improvement showed significant change. In May one-fifth of the parents thought schools would get better, but by December almost one-third thought they would improve. Almost two-fifths of the parents in the spring survey expected schools to get worse, but by December less than one-third thought they would deteriorate. More parents were unsure in December (over one-quarter) than in the spring (slightly over one-fifth).

Parents' Assessment of Teachers

Both surveys asked the parents to rate various aspects of teacher performance and relationships (see Table X.3). The teachers at the time of the May survey were the regular contingent of public school teachers. In December the teachers being rated were those who had taught during the strike period. They comprised several hundred newcomers to the district, for the most part younger and inexperienced teachers known as "loyalists," or those who supported the concept of community control. In May less than two-fifths of the parents rated the teachers' performance positivley; by December three-fifths rated them positively. The negative and positive figures were almost reversed from the first period to the second, with many more parents rating the teachers negatively in the spring (nearly three-fifths) than in December (less than one-third).

When asked how much interest they thought the teachers took in the children, less than one-fifth of the parents in the May survey judged the teachers as very interested, whereas in December almost one-half of them considered the teachers as very interested. In the spring two-fifths of the parents viewed the teachers as "somewhat interested," compared to less than one-third in December. There was a considerable decrease from May to December in the proportion of parents who considered the teachers were "hardly interested" (37 per cent in the spring, only 7 per cent in December).

Almost twice as many parents in December as in May rated positively the teachers' ability to understand children. In May one-third thought the teachers had this ability, whereas in December over three-fifths of the parents rated teachers' understanding positively. The converse also occurred, for in May nearly three-fifths of the parents held a negative view of teachers' understanding, whereas in December only one-quarter assessed this aspect negatively.

Parents were asked to evaluate the teachers' strictness with the children. In May three-fifths thought the teachers were not strict enough, compared to one-third who made this assessment in December. Less than 5 per cent in either period considered that teachers were too strict. Slightly over one-quarter in May and slightly over one-third

TABLE X.3

CHANGE IN PARENTS' ASSESSMENT OF TEACHERS IN THE OCEAN HILL-BROWNSVILLE PROJECT (IN PER CENTS)

Aspect of Evaluation	May, 1968	Dec., 1968
Rating of Job the Teacher Is Doing		
Positive*	38	60
Negative**	58	29
Not sure	4	12
Teachers' Interest in Children		
Very interested	17	47
Somewhat interested	41	32
Hardly interested	37	7
Not sure	5	15
Teachers' Understanding of Children		
Positive*	34	62
Negative**	58	25
Not sure	8	13
Teachers' Strictness		
Too strict	4	2
Not strict enough	60	34
Just strict enough	27	36
Not sure	9	28
Preferred Race of Teachers		
Negro	20	11
White	4	7
Not difference	71	82
Not sure	5	-
Preferred Religion of Teachers		
Catholic		13
Jewish		-
Protestant		6
No difference		79
Not sure		3

*Positive: Respondents gave rating of "excellent" or "pretty good"

**Negative: Respondents gave rating of "only fair" or "poor"

in December said that teachers were just strict enough. There was considerably more uncertainty (28 per cent) in December than in May (9 per cent).

Important racial and religious issues have been raised to the surface in the Ocean Hill-Brownsville controversy. However, little of this now is reflected in the parents' attitudes toward the teachers. There was a significant decrease in the percentage of those parents who preferred Negro teachers for their children. In May, 1968, 20 per cent expressed their preference for Negro teachers, whereas only 11 per cent expressed this preference in December. The overwhelming majority of parents in both periods said it made no difference (nearly three-quarters in May, four-fifths in December). Seven per cent of the parents in the December survey preferred white teachers, compared to only 4 per cent expressing this preference in May.

In the December survey a question was asked in order to determine whether or not parents had preferences about the religion of teachers. Over three-quarters said the teachers' religion made no difference to them, 13 per cent preferred Catholic teachers, 6 per cent preferred Protestants, no one expressed a preference for Jewish teachers, and only 3 per cent were unsure.

Educational Facilities, Services, and Programs

The Ocean Hill-Brownsville project has introduced new programs in the teaching of arithmetic and reading. While less dissatisfaction was expressed with this development in December than in May, there was, however, more uncertainty on the question in December (see Table X.4). In May, six out of ten parents said not enough attention was being given to developing math skills, compared to three out of ten in December. Approximately one-quarter in both periods thought enough attention was being paid to these skills. Twice as many were uncertain in December as in May--38 to 17 per cent, respectively.

Again, nearly six out of ten parents in May thought not enough attention was given to reading skills, compared to three out of ten in December. In May less than one-third said the attention was sufficient, compared to 36 per cent in December. Ten per cent of the parents were unsure in May, whereas 31 per cent were not certain in December.

The Ocean Hill-Brownsville project has made considerable effort to include the black experience in its curriculum. Parents expressed less dissatisfaction with the amount of Negro history being offered in December than in May. Too little Negro history was being offered, according to 69 per cent of the parents in the May survey, compared to 40 per cent in December. Over three times as many of the parents thought about the right amount was being offered in December (24 per cent) as in May (only 7 per cent). In December, 8 per cent said too much Negro history

TABLE X.4

CHANGE IN PARENTS' ASSESSMENT OF CURRICULUM
(IN PER CENTS)

Aspect of Evaluation	May, 1968	Dec., 1968
Amount of Attention Given to Developing Arithmetic Skills		
Enough	24	29
Not enough	60	33
Not sure	17	38
Amount of Attention Given to Developing Reading Skills		
Enough	31	36
Not enough	58	32
Not sure	10	32
Course Offerings in Negro History		
Too much	2	8
Too little	69	40
About the right amount	7	24
Not sure	22	28

was being offered, compared to 2 per cent who said there was an excess in May. Approximately one-quarter were not sure in either period.

Assessment of Educational Leadership

In both May and December parents were asked to rate the job being done by the New York City Board of Education, the project administrator, the local project board, and their children's principals. The parents who answered "excellent" or "pretty good" were considered to have a positive view toward those they were rating. The parents who answered "only fair" or "poor" were considered to have a negative view.

A substantially greater percentage of respondents in December than in May held positive views of the project administrator, the local project board, and the principals. Positive attitudes about the New York City Board of Education remained basically the same (see Table X.5). In December, 60 per cent of the parents held positive opinions of the job being done by Rhody McCoy, the project administrator, compared to 29 per cent who agreed with this view in May. Less than one-quarter rated his performance negatively in December, whereas 44 per cent did so in May. Over one-quarter were not sure in May, compared to less than one-fifth who were uncertain in December.

More than one-half of the parents held a positive view of the local project board in December, whereas less than one-third gave positive ratings in May. Similarly, fewer parents (one-quarter) negatively assessed the board in December than in May (nearly one-half).

The principals were assessed positively by nearly two-thirds of the parents in December, compared to two-fifths in May. Only one-fifth of the respondents viewed the principals negatively in December, whereas nearly one-half of them did so in May. In December, 14 per cent were unsure, compared to 11 per cent who were uncertain in May.

In both May and December the majority of parents viewed the New York City Board of Education negatively. However, fewer did so in December (57 per cent) than in May (69 per cent). The proportion of those holding a positive view of the Board remained constant, approximately one-quarter. More parents were unsure in December (one-fifth) than in May (7 per cent).

The parents were asked to predict the response of various school officials if parents should contact them on some school problem (see Table X.6). The parents' views about the response of the Board of Education remained fairly consistent, except that a greater percentage in May (over one-third) than in December (one-quarter) said that the Board would listen but would avoid doing anything about the problem. Slightly over one-quarter in both periods expected the Board to understand and try to help. Similarly, one-quarter said that the Board would ignore them.

TABLE X.5

CHANGE IN PARENTS' ASSESSMENT OF JOB BEING DONE BY THE EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP (IN PER CENTS)

Leader(s)	May, 1968	Dec., 1968
New York City Board of Education		
Positive*	24	22
Negative**	69	57
Not sure	7	21
Project Administrator		
Positive*	29	60
Negative**	44	23
Not sure	28	19
Local Project Board		
Positive*	31	50
Negative**	47	26
Not sure	23	24
Principals		
Positive*	40	66
Negative**	49	20
Not sure	11	14

*Positive: Respondents gave rating of "excellent or "pretty good"

**Negative: Respondents gave rating of "only fair" or "poor

TABLE X.6

CHANGE IN PARENTS' ASSESSMENT OF HOW SCHOOL OFFICIALS WOULD RESPOND TO SCHOOL PROBLEMS (IN PER CENTS)

Officials	May, 1968	Dec., 1968
New York City Board of Education		
Understand/try to help	27	29
Listen/avoid doing anything	36	27
Ignore	23	24
Not sure	13	19
Project Administrator		
Understand/try to help	46	61
Listen/avoid doing anything	18	13
Ignore	7	7
Not sure	28	17
Local Project Board		
Understand/try to help	56	67
Listen/avoid doing anything	14	10
Ignore	6	6
Not sure	23	19
Principals		
Understand/try to help	52	62
Listen/avoid doing anything	28	13
Ignore	9	5
Not sure	11	19
Teachers		
Understand/try to help	51	65
Listen/avoid doing anything	23	12
Ignore	8	7
Not sure	17	16

The project administrator fared better in December than in May. In December over three-fifths of the parents thought that he would understand and try to help, compared to less than one-half in May. Also, in May, 18 per cent said that he would listen but avoid doing anything, whereas 13 per cent made this assessment in December. Only 7 per cent in either period expected the administrator to ignore them. More were unsure in May (over one-quarter) than in December (17 per cent).

The LPB also was assessed in more trusting terms in December than in May, but not by as great an increase as the project administrator. In May, 56 per cent of the parents said the LPB would understand and try to help, whereas in December two-thirds made this assessment. In May, 14 per cent said that the local board would listen but would avoid doing anything, compared to 10 per cent in December. Only 6 per cent in either period expected the local board to ignore them. Nearly one-quarter were unsure in May, compared to 19 per cent who expressed uncertainty in December.

Principals and teachers also were viewed with greater confidence in December than in May. Only half as many parents in December as in May believed that the principals would listen to them but avoid doing anything. Three-fifths of them in the latter period said that principals would understand and try to help; about one-half felt this way in May. Approximately twice as many parents in the spring survey (9 per cent) as in December (5 per cent) expected the principal to ignore them. More were unsure in December (one-fifth) than in May (11 per cent). The parents' responses presented an almost identical pattern of perceptions or expectations for the teachers as for the principals.

Patterns of Influence in School Matters

The transfer of authority to the local project board still was undefined at the end of 1968. Certainly the board had more authority at that time than the normal local school board, the parents, or the community in educational decision-making. The assessment of whether or not the community had too much influence, too little influence, or the right amount of influence in running the schools did not change much from May to December (see Table X.7). That is, nearly one-half of the parents thought the community had too little influence, whereas only about one-fifth in either period said it had too much. Less than one-sixth thought the community had the right amount of influence, and about one-fifth were not sure. Nearly 50 per cent of the parents still wanted more influence in December, even though when asked if the community had more influence currently than a year earlier, a large percentage of the parents replied that it had. In May slightly over one-third stated that the community had more influence than it had had in the previous year, whereas nearly three-fifths believed that it had more influence in December than in May. About one-sixth in both periods thought that the community had less influence and one-sixth believed the amount of influ-

TABLE X.7

CHANGE IN PARENTS' ASSESSMENT OF COMMUNITY INFLUENCE IN RUNNING OCEAN HILL-BROWNSVILLE SCHOOLS (IN PER CENTS)

Aspect of Influence	May, 1968	Dec., 1968
Degree of Influence Community Has in Running the Schools		
Too much	19	22
Too little	46	45
Right amount	16	15
Not sure	20	18
Degree of Influence Compared to Last Year		
More	38	57
Less	14	14
Same	17	13
Not sure	31	17
Attitude toward Decentralization		
Favor	50	61
Oppose	33	12
Not sure	17	27
Groups Which Would Be Influential under Strong Decentralization		
Parent leaders	56	62
Professional school staff	43	58
Civic leaders	39	21
Local religious leaders	27	40
Local poverty workers	23	16
Local politicians	19	20
Black militants	14	17
Not sure	11	12
Groups Which Should Be Influential under Strong Decentralization		
Parent leaders	26	33
Professional school staff	39	28
Civic leaders	7	3
Local religious leaders	3	5
Local poverty workers	3	3
Local politicians	1	1
Black militants	2	3
Not sure	9	11

ence remained the same. Many more parents were uncertain in May (31 per cent) than in December (17 per cent).

Although the proportions of parents specifically wanting to have more influence in affecting the schools remained the same in both periods, those favoring decentralization increased from May to December. In May one-half favored decentralization; by December over three-fifths supported the concept. Moreover, the numbers of parents opposed to decentralization decreased over this period of time from one-third in May to 12 per cent in December. More were unsure (about one-quarter) in December than in May (17 per cent).

Parents were asked which of seven potential leadership groups[1] they believed actually would be influential if a strong plan for decentralization went into effect (see Table X.7). The rank orderings of the seven groups remained essentially the same, with two exceptions. Half as many parents in December (one-fifth) as in May (two-fifths) thought that civic leaders would be influential. Almost twice as many in December (two-fifths) as in May (one-quarter) believed that religious leaders would be influential. The largest percentages believed that parent leaders would be influential (56 per cent in May, 62 per cent in December). The second largest group thought that the professional school staff would be influential; more parents (nearly three-fifths) believed this in December than in May (two-fifths). About one-fifth of the parents in both periods thought that local politicians would be influential. In December, 16 per cent thought that local poverty workers would have influence, a figure which had dropped from nearly one-quarter in May. Only about one-sixth of the parents in either survey expected black militants to be influential if decentralization was adopted.

Parents also were asked to select which group, in their opinion, should be influential. There was a reversal from May to December among the groups most frequently selected by a majority of the respondents. In May the largest proportion of parents (39 per cent) stated that the professional school staff should be influential, whereas in December the largest proportion (one-third) selected parent leaders. In May over one-quarter said that parent leaders should be influential and approximately the same proportion in December selected the professional school staff. All other groups listed received less than 10 per cent nominations in both periods.

In December parents were asked to select what they considered the best way to run the schools in Ocean Hill-Brownsville. Nearly one-third preferred joint control between the community and another agency, such as the Board of Education or the State Department of Education. Twenty-seven per cent stated a preference for the community to have complete authority in running the schools. Thirteen per cent thought that the LPB should be abolished and the schools run by the Board of Education. Having the local project board run the schools but leaving the final authority with another agency was the choice of 10 per cent of the parents; 17 per cent were not sure.

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[1] The seven groups listed were: parent leaders, professional school staff, civic leaders, local religious leaders, local poverty workers, local politicians, black militants.

Focus of Support in the Ocean Hill-Brownsville Controversy

When asked whom they supported inthe Ocean Hill controversy, a larger proportion of parents expressed support for the LPB over the UFT in December than in May (see Table X.8). In May one-third of the parents stated that they had supported the LPB, whereas in December over one-half gave their support to the local board. Twenty-nine per cent supported the UFT in May, compared to 8 per cent in December. About 10 per cent in both periods said they supported neither group. More were unsure in May (30 per cent) than in December (23 per cent).

In December parents were asked to assess the focus of support for the contending forces among neighbors, other Negroes, and whites. (This question was not asked in the May survey). Nearly one-half said that their neighbors supported the LPB, 39 per cent were unsure, and 6 per cent felt that their neighbors supported theUFT. Nearly three-fifths of the parents thought that most other Negroes throughout the city also supported the LPB, about one-third were unsure, and only 5 per cent believed that other Negroes supported the teachers' union. The parents reported quite a different focus of support, however, when they were asked how most whites felt. In this instance nearly one-half of them answered that whites supported the UFT, 12 per cent said that whites supported the local project board, and about one-third were unsure whom the whites supported. These findings suggest that the minority community of Ocean Hill-Brownsville perceived their struggle with the UFT as a racial matter with black support for themselves and white support for their opponents.

Attitudes about Individuals in the Community

In December parents were asked whom they considered the most influential person in Ocean Hill. Six out of ten parents selected Rhody McCoy, the project administrator, as the most influential, with the nearest contender being Rev. Herbert C. Oliver, chairman of the LPB, who was selected by 10 per cent of the parents. Three per cent chose Leslie Campbell, a controversial teacher.

A second method was used to identify community leaders. The parents were asked to designate from a list those leaders of whom they approved. Over one-half said they approved of Rev. Oliver. Twenty-eight per cent approved of Assemblyman Samuel Wright, a member of the LPB who

TABLE X.8

CHANGE IN PARENTS' ATTITUDES TOWARD CONTROVERSY IN OCEAN HILL-BROWNSVILLE OVER TRANSFER OF TEACHERS (IN PER CENTS)

Attitude	May, 1968	Dec., 1968
Who Do You Support in Controversy?		
Local project board	32	54
UFT	29	8
Neither	9	10
Both	-	5
Not sure	30	23
Who Do Your Neighbors Support?		
Local project board		48
UFT		6
Neither		4
Both		4
Not sure		39
Who Do Most Negroes Support?		
Local project board		59
UFT		5
Neither		2
Both		3
Not sure		31
Who Do Most Whites Support?		
Local project board		12
UFT		47
Neither		3
Both		5
Not sure		32

has contested the leadership of the present board. Both Clara Marshall and Elaine Rooke, members of the board, and Leslie Campbell received the approval of about a quarter of the parents.

During the teachers' strike in the fall of 1968 a petition calling for another election of the LPB members was circulated through the project area; some 4,000 signatures were collected. However, only 12 per cent of the parents in the sample were familiar with the petitions and only 4 per cent signed them. When asked whether or not they would sign a petition for a reelection of the LPB, 10 per cent of the parents said they certainly would sign such a petition, one-quarter said they might sign it, and slightly less than one-quarter said they certainly would not. Over 35 per cent were not sure.

Participation of the Parents

The degree of parent participation generally was the same, if not slightly reduced, in December as it had been in May (see Table X.9). The greatest degree of participation took the form of membership in the parents associations; only one-third or fewer of the parents participated in any one of the other activities. Although approximately two-fifths of the parents belonged to the parents association (a slight increase of 4 per cent), there was a marked twofold decline in attendance at parents association meetings.

Other activities involved even fewer parents. In both May and December slightly under one-fifth of the respondents had ever attended a political rally, approximately one-quarter had written a letter or spoken to someone in political office on an issue that concerned them, and about one in six belonged to a political club or organization. In December fewer parents had kept their children out of school as a protest (27 per cent in December, compared to 34 per cent in May); and fewer had taken part in a demonstration (one-fifth in December, one-third in May). One-fifth of the parents in both periods had gone to the LPB or project administrator on matters that concerned them.

Although parent participation might have been expected to increase under community control, the degree of participation remained fairly constant throughout the time of the surveys. There was, however, a change in the form of participation--overt expressions of protest declined from May to December.

In addition to questions about the types of activities in which parents actually engaged, the survey included questions which asked the parents which of several ways they thought would be the most effective to bring about improvement in the schools. In both periods the largest proportion believed that electing better officials would be the most effective. This was the only means that showed a significant change

TABLE X.9

PARENTAL PARTICIPATION IN SCHOOL AFFAIRS
(IN PER CENTS)

	May, 1968	Dec., 1968
Membership in Parents Association		
Belong	40	44
Don't belong	55	54
Not sure	3	2
Number Times Attended PA Meetings		
None	14	26
1-2 times per year	23	29
3-4 times per year	23	23
5 times or more	31	16
Not sure	10	6
Activities Participated in by Parents		
Attended political rally	19	17
Written or spoken to someone in political office	29	24
Belonged to political organization	16	15
Participated in rent strike	14	-*
Boycotted store	21	-*
Kept children out of school as protest	34	27
Joined demonstration	33	21
Gone to LPB or project administrator of this district	20	21
Most Effective Way to Improve Schools		
Write letters to officials	20	26
Elect better officials	30	42
Have community groups legally in charge	23	24
Boycott schools	6	5
Demonstrate	12	12
Sit-in in schools	-	2
Not sure	11	15

*Not asked in December

from May (30 per cent) to December (42 per cent). One-fifth of the parents in May believed that writing letters to officials would be the most effective and slightly over one-quarter selected this method in December. It is interesting to note that there was no change in the proportion of parents who thought that putting community groups legally in charge would be the most effective way to bring about improvement; approximately one-quarter of the parents in both periods selected this means.

The Sense of Sanctioning

Generally, fewer parents had a sense of negative sanctioning in December than in May, but more of them were uncertain about what reactions they would meet with in December (see Table X.10). Parents were asked to predict the reactions of their friends and of the community if they were to take a public stand on some unpopular issue. In May, 31 per cent said they would be admired by their friends, whereas in December, 34 per cent made this claim. In May one-quarter felt that they would be ridiculed, compared to only 18 per cent who expected this reaction in December. Approximately one-half of the parents in both periods were unsure. Twice as many parents in May (30 per cent) as in December (15 per cent) said the community would perceive them as troublemakers. Twenty-nine per cent in both periods said they would be viewed as community leaders. Two-fifths were unsure in May, whereas 56 per cent were uncertain in December.

A more specific measure of the sense of sanctioning in school affairs was sought by means of two questions. The first asked whether protesting the action of a school official was regarded as possibly having a negative effect on one's child. Two-fifths of the parents in May, but only one-quarter in December, answered that their actions might affect their children. In May one-third of the parents thought that there would not be a negative effect on their children, compared to 27 per cent in December. Slightly over one-quarter were not sure in May, whereas nearly one-half were unsure in December.

The second question, asked only in the December survey, asked the parents if they would feel free to discuss their doubts about community control of the schools in Ocean Hill-Brownsville or if they would hesitate to express such doubts. Fifty-eight per cent stated that they would feel free, slightly over one-fifth said they would hesitate, and one-fifth were unsure.

The Sense of Community and the Local Controversy

In December nearly one-half of the parents thought that there were strong community feelings in Ocean Hill-Brownsville. One-quarter of the

TABLE X.10

CHANGE IN PARENTS' ASSESSMENT OF SANCTIONING IN OCEAN HILL-BROWNSVILLE (IN PER CENTS)

Aspect of Sanctioning	May, 1968	Dec., 1968
If Parent Should Take a Public Stand on Controversial Issue, Friends Would:		
Admire	31	34
Ridicule	25	18
Not sure	44	48
Parent Would Be Viewed by the Community As:		
Community leader	29	29
Trouble maker	30	15
Not sure	40	56
Does Parent Feel Free to Discuss Doubts about Community Control in Ocean Hill-Brownsville?		
Feel free		58
Hesitate		22
Not sure		20
Would Parent's Protest of Action of School Officials Have Negative Effect on Child?		
Might have negative influence	44	27
Would not have negative influence	32	27
Not sure	29	46

respondents expressed the belief that there was some community feeling. Only 10 per cent stated that there was hardly any community feeling; one-fifth were unsure.

More than one-half of the respondents said that the local controversy had brought different groups together in the community. Fifteen per cent said the effect was to separate groups, 14 per cent thought the controversy had made nodifference in this aspect of community life, and about one-fifth were not sure.

Perhaps the most dramatic shift in attitudes about the sense of community was revealed by the question concerning the parents' preference for an integrated school or an improved segregated school in the next year of two (see Table X.11). There was less support for integration in December than in May. More than twice as many parents in May (58 per cent) as in December (23 per cent) preferred an integrated school. In May two-fifths preferred an improved segregated school, whereas nearly one-half felt this way in December. In May only 2 per cent were not sure; in December, 26 per cent were not sure. The December survey showed that even in the long run almost one-half of the parents preferred improved segregated education. Only one-quarter preferred an integrated school situation; over one-quarter were unsure.

Conclusion

Surveys conducted in the Ocean Hill-Brownsville area of Brooklyn in May and December, 1968, revealed changes in parents' attitudes toward the schools there, the educational leadership in the community, and the teachers and principals. It is particularly interesting to note that support for the project administrator doubled between May and December.

In the eight-month period from May to December, 1968, there were significant positive changes in parents' attitudes toward the schools in general and also in parents' expectations for the schools. Positive changes also were evident in attitudes about the professional staff--the teachers and principals. The educational leadership of the community--the project administrator and the local project board--were assessed much more positivelyin December than in May. Support for the administrator increased from 29 to 60 per cent.

Parents continued to believe that the community had too little influence in school affairs, even though more parents felt that the community had gained influence in the year ending December, 1968, than it had gained by May, 1968. Furthermore, a greater proportion of parents favored decentralization in December than in May, an increase from 50 to 61 per cent.

In the earlier survey, a significantly larger proportion of the parents believed that the professional staff rather than parent leaders

TABLE X.11

CHANGE IN PARENTS' POSITION ON INTEGRATION OF SCHOOLS (IN PER CENTS)

Preference	May, 1968	Dec., 1968
Prefer Integration/Segregation in Next Year or Two		
Integration of schools	58	23
Improvement of segregated schools	40	49
Not sure	2	26
Prefer Integration/Segregation in the Long Run		
Integration of schools		23
Improvement of segregated schools		48
Not sure		26

should be influential under a strong decentralization plan. In the later survey, this proportion shifted so that approximately the same number of parents believed that both the professional staff and parent leaders should have major influence under such a plan.

A much greater proportion of parents supported the local project board and the project administrator vis-a-vis the teachers' union in December than in May--an increase from 32 to 54 per cent. Many of these parents also thought their neighbors and other blacks in other parts of the city felt the same way. However, they viewed whites throughout the city as much more supportive of the union than of the Ocean Hill-Brownsville local project board.

The number of people who felt they would be negatively sanctioned for taking an unpopular stand in the community declined. In addition, only one in five indicated a hesitancy to publicly discuss doubts about community control in Ocean Hill-Brownsville. Furthermore, parents believed that a sense of community developed as a result of the controversy.

Fewer persons in December favored concentrating on integration (a decrease from 58 to 23 per cent), while more were in favor of improving segregated schools (an increase from 40 to 49 per cent).

The most significant change in parents' attitudes from May to December seemed to be a more widespread and positive view toward those involved with community control--the project administrator, the local project board, the teachers who taught during the strike, and the principals administering the schools.

All in all, the schools were still rated negatively by 60 per cent of the parents. There was a feeling that more needs to be done to improve reading and arithmetic skills, but the survey made it apparent that if change is to come about, the community would much prefer to work with the local project board and the project administrator.

5

CHAPTER XI

TRANSFORMATION OF URBAN EDUCATION: A SYSTEMS ANALYSIS

We have examined the changes in decision-making processes in school controversies as they evolved from desegregation to decentralization (Chapter I). We have described the specific set of events that established three demonstration projects as a subsystem approach to transforming urban education (Chapters II and III). We have specified a set of school and community conditions under which the three projects are changing (Chapters IV and V). Most important, we have analyzed the variety of parental views about the schools, the policies, the programs, and the officials, as well as the parents' participatory role in the decision-making processes (Chapters VI-VIII). In addition, we have examined the views of parents in three different educational settings for black students--integrated, segregated, and the three demonstration projects (Chapter IX). Finally, we have shown the effects of political confrontation on changing parent attitudes and behavior in the Ocean Hill-Brownsville Demonstration Project district.

There are several approaches to take in interpreting the complex set of events which has transformed the New York City schools from a desegregated to a decentralized system. One approach would be to take issue with the spate of literature evolving from the Ocean Hill-Brownsville confrontation and the teacher strike. However, much of this material is highly polemical and based on the rhetoric of advocacy[1]; little has been done to describe the events and evaluate the decision-making processes.[2]

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[1] For example, Richard Karp, "The Siege of Ocean Hill," Interplay, January, 1968; New York Civil Liberties Union, The Burden of Blame (New York: The New York Civil Liberties Union, 1968); Sandra Feldman, The Burden of Blame Placing (New York: United Federation of Teachers, no date); Maurice J. Goldbloom, "The New York School Crisis," Commentary, Vol 47, No. 1 (January, 1969), pp. 43-58; and Jason Epstein, "The Real McCoy," The New York Review, Vol. XII, No. 5 (March 13, 1969), pp. 31-40.

[2] Exceptions are Martin Mayer, The Teachers Strike (New York: Harper & Row, 1968) and Final Report of the Advisory Committee on Decentralization, submitted to the Board of Education of the City of New York, July, 1968.

Another approach is that of a systems analysis. It is this approach which we have chosen to conclude our study of decision-making in the schools.

Both processes--desegregation and decentralization--stimulated tension, controversy, and conflict. Desegregation was imposed as a policy by the citywide authorities at the insistence of civil rights groups; decentralization, on the other hand, was stimulated at the local level. The tension and conflict resulted from the attempts of a split-level system--central versus local--to resolve both the paradox of quality-integrated education and the dilemma of decentralization. The resistance of the white local communities to desegregation explicated the relative autonomy of these white subcommunities. Decentralization, on the other hand, opened an avenue toward the autonomy sought by the black subcommunities.

We have adopted David Easton's model of a political system for our own analysis of the problems and dynamics of transforming urban education. Easton suggests a systems analysis of political life based on the question, "How does any political system persist?" The essential variables of such a system are: (1) the authoritative allocation of values for the society and (2) the acceptance by the citizens of these allocations as binding upon the population for a given period of time. Stress occurs in the system when either the authorities cannot make decisions or their decisions no longer are accepted as binding.

The schematic map (see Figure XI.1) shows that the main elements of Easton's system are inputs--which consist of both demands (always made of the authorities) and supports (for the authorities, the regime, and/or the political community)--and outputs (always made by the authorities).

Authoritative decisions are expressed in terms of outputs. These outputs may be mere policy proclamations or they may be a completed process--policy, plan, and implementation. Whatever the output, its effect is bound to the systemic feedback loop. Feedback in this sense is information returned to the authorities. The feedback loop includes three structural elements: (1) the outputs and their outcomes, (2) the members of the system at the input entrance, and (3) the authorities. The phases of one cycle around the feedback loop are: (1) the outputs and outcomes as stimuli to the participants; (2) the feedback responses by members of the system; (3) the information feedback about the response to the authorities; and (4) the output reaction by the authorities to that feedback response.

The data on parental attitudes included in Part II of this report provide the basic sources of feedback on the four phases of the feedback loop, that is, on the perceptions and behavior of the participants and parents in an educational system. These include five educational settings: (1) the larger citywide system, (2) the suburbs, (3) the demonstration projects subsystem, (4) an integrated educational subsystem, and (5) a segregated subsystem.

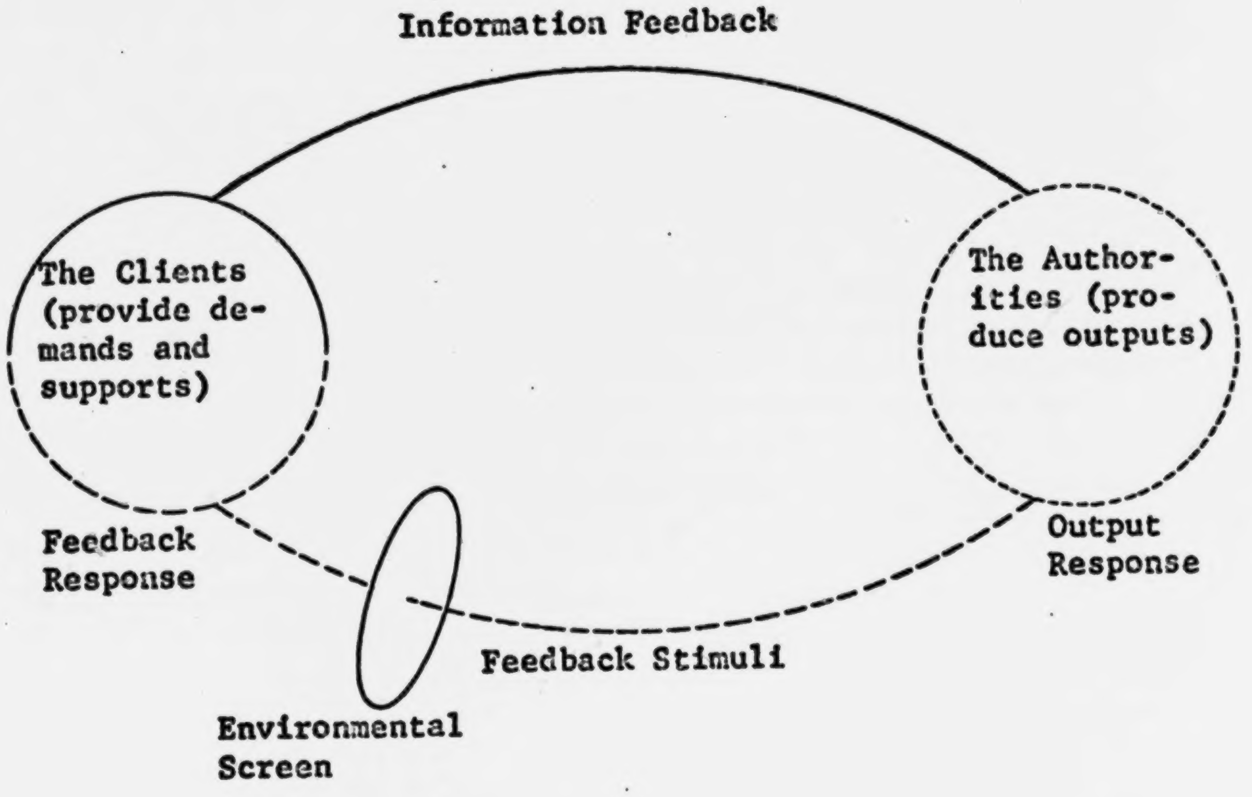
Information Feedback
The Clients (provide demands and supports)
The Authorities (produce outputs)
Feedback Response
Output Response
Feedback Stimuli
Environmental Screen

FIGURE XI.1. SYSTEMIC FEEDBACK LOOP[1]

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[1] David Easton, *A Systems Analysis of Political Life* (New York John Wiley & Sons, 1965), p. 381. Adapted from Easton, including the environmental screen.

We have also classified three significant dimensions of the political climate in the three demonstration projects. The first dimension is the power structure, here defined as a pluralistic or an elite system. The pluralistic structure has a diverse social basis with various elements competing to govern the schools--the situation found in the Two Bridges Demonstration Project. The elite system is a homogeneous social structure with a relatively small group or cabal governing the schools--the situation found in the Ocean Hill-Brownsville and IS 201 Demonstration Projects. The second dimension is the potential degree of political influence the parents have, which ranges from high to low and defines them as politically relevant or apolitical (discussed in Chapter VIII). The third dimension distinguishes between those who want the community to have more influence and those who want less influence in educational decision-making (discussed in Chapter VII).

From the perceptions of parents we have constructed not only the output feedback stimuli (what the parents perceive that the outputs mean to them) but also the feedback response (what it is that parents are demanding, whom and what they are supporting as a result of their perceptions about the output). An insight into information feedback is provided by parental behavior (what parents are doing that the authorities can interpret as supportive of, apathetic about, or resistant toward specific outputs, or supportive of or resistant toward the authorities, the regime, or the political community in general).

The two policy outputs central to this study will be pursued through the feedback loop. The first output is desegregation, labeled Round I; the second is decentralization, labeled Round II. We would have preferred a different time measurement or parent survey for each policy output. However, we have attempted to distinguish between the two by referring to system level factors in the case of desegregation and to subsystem level factors in the case of decentralization, since the latter is essentially a subsystem phenomenon.

Policy Outputs: Round I

One set of outputs is desegregation, which seeks educational reform through reassignments of students. Although there have been many variations in the programs, from voluntary to involuntary, we will discuss the parents' views toward desegregation in general. We will follow each phase of the feedback loop, looking at the stimuli, responses, information feedback, and finally the output response as expressed in perceptions of parents who were interviewed in a citywide sample. The survey data have provided us a general picture of the perceptions of both black and white parents. We have distinguished between white and black parents in a random sample of New York City. We have partial information on white parents in the suburbs who are remote and only theoretically involved with the policy outputs of the urban system, black parents in an integrated situation who are intimately involved with these policy outputs, predominantly black parents (and some whites) in the demonstration projects who are both reacting to these policy outputs and mobilizing in support of more radical transformations of urban education (to be discussed in Round II), and predominantly black and Puerto Rican parents in New York City's disadvantaged schools who thus far have remained relatively unaffected by these policy outputs.

Feedback Stimuli: Round I

The survey data provide a direct measure of parental reaction to the stimuli of the Board of Education's policy output, called integration, but which until now really has taken the form of desegregating the public schools (see Table XI.1). While only one-quarter of parents in the citywide survey, compared to one-third in the suburbs, favored desegregation, nearly three times as many blacks as whites supported this policy. The citywide black parents agreed with the black parents in the demonstration projects and in the integrated schools. Finally, nearly two-thirds of the parents in the ghetto areas supported integration. Therefore, the stimuli response to the integration policy output showed that the more the sample reflected the urban predominantly white society, the lower the proportion supporting integration. Thus, the more remote the group from the problem, the less supportive it was of the policy. Minority group parents, whether involved with integration or reacting to the lack of it, were more supportive of integration than is society in general. Those minority group parents who experienced the least change were the most in favor of integration.

When examining the responses of the demonstration project parents in depth on the question of integration, we found that one-half or slightly more favored the principle, regardless of whether they lived in an elite or a pluralistic power structure, whether they were politically relevant or apolitical, and whether they were parents who desired more influence in the community or who desired less. Therefore, a policy output concerned with integration was accepted by a majority of the disadvantaged parents, regardless of the political climate in which they lived.

Parental perceptions and reactions to the output stimuli are affected by the physical environment in which parents live as well as by their social and psychological sets. Some of the variations in reactions to integration expressed in feedback response (i.e., demands and support) may be explained by these phenomena. As expected, suburban parents took the most positive view of their neighborhoods; only 16 per cent in our sample stated that their neighborhoods were not as good as they had been the previous year. Those parents whose children were experiencing integration in the schools were second in the degree of

TABLE XI.1

FEEDBACK STIMULI: ROUND I

	Educational Setting							Polit'l Climate in Demon'Projects					
		NYCity						Power Str		Act'l Inf		Des'd Inf	
	Tot	Wht	Blk	Sub	Dem	Int	Seg	Plur	Elite	High	Low	More	Less
Attitude toward Policy Output													
Favor integration	28	17	51	31	53	54	62	50	55	55	50	56	53
Sociological Environment													
Neighborhood not as good	42	40	54	16	49	33	40	30	58	54	46	50	52
Social Environment													
Whites get better education	30	23	61	29	40	54	39	16	52	66	33	47	36
Psychological Environment													
Degree of cynicism	--	--	--	--	27	37	13	32	34	22	24	71	17
Sense of sanctioning	--	--	--	--	17	--	--	14	19	9	19	54	31

their satisfaction; only one-third complained about the neighborhood's deterioration. Forty per cent of those living in the ghettos complained about the conditions; 42 per cent in the city sample (40 per cent of the white and 54 per cent of the black parents) and 49 per cent in the demonstration projects stated that their neighborhoods were not as good as they had been.

Significant differences appeared among the demonstration project parents when we examined their perceptions of the neighborhood in different power structures. Twice as many of those parents living in an elite power structure (58 per cent) as of those living in a pluralistic setting (30 per cent) said the neighborhood was not as good as the previous year. Similarly, more of the politically relevant parents (54 per cent) described their neighborhoods as not as good as previously, whereas 46 per cent of the apoliticals made this assessment. The degree of influence desired did not seem to affect parents' perceptions of their neighborhoods.

A sense of social participation, at least as far as race is concerned, could be discerned in answers to the question whether whites or Negroes receive a better education. The largest proportion (54 per cent) of those stating that whites receive a better education were parents in the integrated educational situation. The next largest proportions of parents were those in the demonstration projects and in the black segregated settings, of whom 40 per cent believed that whites receive a better education than Negroes. Less than one-third of those in both the citywide sample and the suburbs believed that whites receive a better education. It is interesting to note that more than twice as many of the black parents in an integrated setting than parents in the suburbs believed that whites receive a better education. Therefore, those black parents who have experienced integration and whose children have attended both segregated and integrated schools believed that whites receive a better educationl than blacks in a ratio of two to one over those parents in the suburbs with little or no knowledge of or experience with ghetto schools.

The political climate of the demonstration parents provided even sharper differences in the perceptions of the quality of white versus black education. Three times as many of those parents in an elite power structure (52 per cent) as in a pluralistic structure (16 per cent) believed that whites receive a better education. Twice as many of the politically relevant (66 per cent) as the apoliticals (32 per cent) believed that whites receive a superior education; 47 per cent of those desiring more influence, compared to 36 per cent of those desiring less, believed that education for the blacks is inferior.

Therefore, those minority group parents in elite power structures who were attempting to control their schools believed that whites receive a better education than blacks by a ratio of three to one over those parents already in a pluralistic system. The politically relevant parents who were involved in the schools believed that whites receive a better education than blacks by a ratio of two to one over the apolitical or uninvolved parents. More of those parents who desired greater influence, compared to those who desired less, believed that whites receive a better education than blacks.

Our measurement of psychological states does not cover the entire spectrum of educational settings. However, those measures that we do have show that the parents with children in the integrated setting were almost three times as cynical as those in the segregated areas and 10 per cent more cynical than those in the demonstration projects.

Only the dichotomy of those desiring more influence compared to those wanting less influence showed a significant difference in cynicism.[1] Those wanting more influence were four times (71 per cent) as cynical as those desiring less (17 per cent). Neither power structure nor degree of political relevance seemed to affect the degree of cynicism.

The sense of sanctioning was not measured in four out of five of the educational settings. However, 17 per cent of the parents in the demonstration projects felt that a high degree of negative sanctioning was operating among their friends, in the community, on the job, and in the schools. The differences in power structures had little effect on the sense of sanctioning among these parents; however, twice as many apolitical (19 per cent) as politically relevant parents (9 per cent) believed that sanctioning was operative. Many more of those desiring more influence (54 per cent) than those desiring less (31 per cent) had a high sense of sanctioning. It is interesting to note that six times as many of those desiring more influence had a high sense of sanctioning than did those who were politically relevant (9 per cent).

Feedback Response: Round I

Demands

Thus, although it was viewed positively by a majority of the parents in the disadvantaged communities, the policy output of integration never affected enough of their children nor did it produce the expected educational outcomes. By and large, the policy statements were not extensively implemented because of resistance not only by local residents but also by the larger community (both white and black), of whom only one-quarter were supportive (see Table XI.2). Therefore, those parents in the demonstration project and in the segregated areas who were most dissatisfied with their neighborhoods, who believed whites received a better education than blacks, and who had not experienced any integration stood at the input threshhold with implicit, if not explicit, demands that the schools be improved. A goodly proportion of them also came with expectations that the schools would improve in the future.

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[1] Parents were asked an inventory of six questions designed to provide a measure of political cynicism. Each parent's mean score for the six questions was calculated and placed in its correct order on a rank-ordered scale. Those parents with mean scores in the upper quartile were characterized as highly cynical, those in the second and third quartiles as portraying a medium degree of cynicism, and those in the lowest quartile as low in cynicism, or trusting.

Only 17 per cent of the white parents in the New York City sample, compared to one-half of the black parents, favored desegregation. Two-fifths of the whites and one-half of the black parents thought their neighborhoods were not as good as they had been. Fewer than one-quarter of the whites and nearly two-thirds of the black parents believed that whites received a better education than blacks. Their response to the stimuli of integration was limited as far as demands were concerned--only one-quarter of them thought the schools were not as good as they had been.

Nearly one-third of the suburban parents favored integration. They were highly satisfied with the stability of their neighborhoods. Only 29 per cent believed that whites received better educations than blacks. They were very satisfied with their schools--in fact, only 14 per cent believed that the schools were not as good as they had been.

On the other hand, 42 per cent of the demonstration project parents thought that their schools were worse than the year before, while one-quarter of the segregated parents made this assessment. Only 10 per cent of the integrated school parents perceived their schools as worse.

There were significant differences between parents in elite and pluralistic power structures when they assessed their schools. More than twice as many of those in an elite structure (52 per cent), compared to those living under a pluralistic power structure (23 per cent), believed their schools had grown worse. Also, more of the politically relevant (51 per cent) than of the apoliticals (36 per cent) believed that the schools were wrose. There was no difference between those desiring more or those desiring less community influence in assessing the schools, since the integration policy pertained to the movement of children and did not involve any redistribution of power or authority represented by decentralization and community control.

Expectations for improvement of the schools were highest among the ghetto parents, 43 per cent of whom believed the schools would get better. Approximately one-third of both the integrated school parents and the demonstration school parents also were optimistic.

There were no significant differences in expectations for improvement of the schools among parents in different power structures or among those with different degrees of political influence. However, there were higher expectations among parents who desired more influence (32 per cent) than among those who desired less (22 per cent).

TABLE XI.2

FEEDBACK RESPONSE: ROUND I

	Educational Setting							Polit'l Climate in Demon Projects					
	NYCity							Power Str		Act'l Inf		Des'd Inf	
Inputs	Tot	Wht	Blk	Sub	Dem	Int	Seg	Plur	Elite	High	Low	More	Less
Educational Demands													
Schools not as good	26	27	27	14	42	10	23	23	52	51	36	45	45
Schools will get better	--	--	--	--	30	33	43	31	30	37	29	32	22
Positive rating of curriculum	--	--	--	--	42	57	57	50	37	31	47	38	48
Support for Authorities													
Positive rating and trust in Board of Education	13	11	14	71	33	29	37	45	27	15	37	21	45
Positive rating of teachers	70	73	56	88	49	65	64	58	44	41	56	40	61
Positive rating of principals	--	--	--	--	53	50	45	66	47	48	59	45	64
Positive Support for Present Regime													
Favor an elected LSB	41	38	54	68	31	31	14	29	32	52	26	42	16

No measure was available on ratings of curriculum by the citywide or the suburban sample. However, more than one-half of the parents in both integrated and segregated settings, compared to about two-fifths of the demonstration parents, held positive views toward the curriculum. Therefore, although there were some implied demands for an improved curriculum, these were not overwhelming in the educational settings themselves.

However, within the different political climates of the demonstration projects there were some significant variations in educational demands regarding curriculum. Only one-third living in the elite power structure, compared to one-half of those living in a pluralistic system, viewed the curriculum positively. In addition, less than one-third of the politically relevant, compared to nearly one-half of the apoliticals, rated the curriculum positively. Moreover, only 38 per cent of those desiring more influence, compared to 48 per cent of those desiring less, saw the curriculum in positive terms. Therefore, one can expect that if there is pronounced dissatisfaction with the curriculum among those in an elite structure who generally move more directly and rapidly, among the politically relevant who set standards, influence perceptions, and initiate demands, and among those desiring more influence who either act overtly or covertly support the activists, these groups will respond to the output by making increased demands for a change in the curriculum.

Supports

The feedback response by those at the input threshhold includes not only new or heightened educational demands but also a changed or maintained support for the authorities, the regime, and the political community. The degree of parental support for the Board of Education, the teachers, and the principals has been measured. On the citywide level, a mere 13 per cent (there was little difference between whites and blacks) rated the New York City Board of Education positively, whereas 71 per cent in the suburbs rated their boards positively. Furthermore, 37 per cent of the segregated school parents, 33 per cent of those in the demonstration projects, and only 29 per cent in the segregated setting rated the New York City Board of Education positively.

Within the demonstration projects significant differences in positive ratings appeared among those parents living in different political milieus. Half as many of the parents (27 per cent) living in the elite system, compared to those living in a pluralistic area (45 per cent) rated the Board of Education positively. Again, half as many (15 per cent) of the politically relevant rated the Board positively as did the apoliticals (37 per cent). Finally, half as many of those desiring more influence (21 per cent), compared to those desiring less influence (45 per cent), held a positive view of the Board.

When it came to trusting the New York City Board of Education to respond to parents rather than ignore them or act independently, almost half of the parents in the integrated school area, compared to two-fifths of those in the demonstration projects and slightly over one-third in the segregated areas, trusted the Board.

There were greater differences between political climates in the degree of trust. Nearly half of those in a pluralistic power structure, compared to slightly over one-third in the elite system, trusted the Board of Education. Less than one-third of the politically relevant, compared to 44 per cent of the apoliticals, trusted the Board. Finally, less than half as many of those desiring more influence (28 per cent) as those desiring less (58 per cent) trusted the Board of Education to do what parents wanted.

On the other hand, most parents rated the teachers in the schools positively. Seventy per cent (73 per cent of the whites and 56 per cent of the blacks) of the citywide sample, compared to 88 per cent of the suburban parents, rated teachers positively. In the disadvantaged areas a smaller proportion, but still over half of the parents, gave the teachers a positive rating. Teachers also were rated positively by nearly two-thirds of the parents of children in both the integrated and the segregated settings and about one-half of those in the demonstration projects.

Again, there was less satisfaction with the teachers among parents within the elite power structure, among the politically relevant, and among those desiring more influence. Approximately two-fifths of each of these groups of parents rated teachers positively, compared to nearly three-fifths of those living in a pluralistic structure, of parents who were apolitical, and of those wanting less influence.

Support for the principals was not measured in the citywide or suburban samples. Variations were slight within the other three educational settings. Parents in the segregated area were least supportive of the principals (45 per cent), whereas over one-half of the parents living in the integrated and experimental settings rated the principals positively.

The greatest differential among the demonstration project parents in their positive ratings of principals occurred between those living in the pluralistic political climate (66 per cent), who viewed their principals positively, and those living under an elite structure (47 per cent), who viewed them positively. Forty-eight per cent of the politically relevant and 59 per cent of the apoliticals rated principals positively. Those wanting more influence and those wanting less closely followed the pattern of the elite and the pluralistic power structure groups: 45 per cent of those wanting more influence, compared to 64 per cent of those wanting less, gave the principals a positive rating.

Inasmuch as at present the local school boards in New York City are appointed boards, a decrease in support for the present regime was indicated by the proportion of those favoring elected local school boards. If parents were satisfied with the procedure now in existence, few of them would be in favor of elected boards. Citywide figures indicated that 41 per cent (38 per cent of the whites and 54 per cent of the blacks) favored elected school boards and, thus, a change in the regime. In the suburbs, however, where school boards traditionally are elected bodies, the 68 per cent of the sample who favored elected school boards also indicated their support of the regimes existing in their communities. Fewer parents in the disadvantaged areas than in the city at large favored a change in the regime; less than one-third in the demonstration projects and only 14 per cent in the desegregated areas wished to change the regime.

In addition, less than one-third under either a pluralistic or an elite power structure wished to change the regime. However, twice as many (52 per cent) of the politically relevant, compared to the apoliticals (26 per cent), preferred a change in the existing regime. Finally, nearly three times as many of those who desired more influence (42 per cent) as those who favored less (16 per cent) were dissatisfied with the present delegation of authority to the local subcommunity.

Although the policy output of desegregation met with relatively fewer demands, except in the demonstration areas, it elicited a more significant response in the way of decreased support toward the authorities and the regime, especially by the citywide participants. The Board of Education, however, was supported by a larger percentage of the disadvantaged community than of the city as a whole with its predominantly white population. In addition, the disadvantaged community displayed a great deal of trust in the Board's willingness to respond to its needs. On the other hand, only 13 per cent of the citywide sample rated the New York City Board of Education positively, whereas 71 per cent of the suburban sample (in areas whose authorities had not produced integrated outputs) rated their boards positively.

Moreover, the citywide sample showed that a larger percentage no longer supported the regime; two-fifths of the parents (one-third of the whites and half of the blacks) favored a change from appointed local boards to elected ones, whereas nearly two-thirds of the suburbanites supported their regimes. Surprisingly, very few in the disadvantaged communities (less than one-third) desired a change in the regime. It was significant, however, that the largest proportion of those preferring change were the politically relevant, over half of whom favored elected school boards.

Finally, although support was low for the Board of Education of New York City, there was no comparably low level of support for the teachers or the principals. Parents, therefore, were perceiving that on the local level these authorities--teaching and supervisory staff--had no responsibility for either the policy proclamations or their implementation. Thus, any attack on the teachers, as in Ocean Hill-Brownsville, would either receive a mixed response or would require a massive confrontation in order to explore their perceived inadequacies and their culpability for low educational outcome.

If the authorities could gather and receive accurate and reliable feedback information from the participants' responses, they would realize that the overwhelming citywide response to their output of integration was a decrease in support. Even though they were supported to a greater degree by the disadvantaged communities as well as trusted by them, they were not supported by the politically relevant, those in the elite power structure, or by those desiring more community influence in educational affairs.

Information Feedback: Round I

The parent survey data do not include sufficient measures of information feedback (see Table XI.3). However, they do include data on the forms of participation by parents, especially in the disadvantaged communities. Thus, our analysis can only suggest to what extent and how frequently certain channels of communication and community organization are used by what kind of participants.

A review of the voting turnout for the mayoralty election in 1965 showed that 61 per cent of those in the segregated areas voted, whereas 48 per cent in the demonstration and 37 per cent in the integrated areas used their voting prerogatives. More people living under the pluralistic power structure (55 per cent) than under the elite one (44 per cent) voted in the mayoralty election. One and one-half times as many of the politically relevant (60 per cent) as the apoliticals (40 per cent) voted. However, there was no difference between those who desired more influence and those who desired less; in both cases about one-half of each group voted.

Considering the measure of high participation to be attendance at four or more parent association meetings a year, nearly one-third of the white and half of the black parents in the citywide sample, compared to one-quarter of the suburban sample, reported this high degree of participation. Nearly twice as many of the demonstration project parents (46 per cent) as segregated parents (20 per cent) attended four or more PA meetings per year and nearly three times as many of the demonstration parents as parents in the integrated setting (16 per cent) attended four or more meetings.

More parents (53 per cent) in the pluralistic climate, compared to none of the apoliticals, had attended four or more PA meetings. Over one-half of those desiring more influence, compared to 38 per cent of those desiring less, had been regular PA participants.

There was no overwhelming agreement among parents about the most effective way to make their opinions known. Approximately one-third of the parents in both the demonstration projects and the integrated setting, compared to about one-fifth of the parents in the segregated area, thought contacting the principal would be most effective. Another one-fourth of the parents in all educational settings considered contacting the Board of Education would bring the best results.

TABLE XI.3

INFORMATION FEEDBACK: ROUND I

	Educational Setting							Polit'l Climate in Demon Projects					
	NYCity							Power Str		Act'l Inf		Des'd Inf	
	Tot	Wht	Blk	Sub	Dem	Int	Seg	Plur	Elite	High	Low	More	Less
Forms of Participation													
Voted in mayoralty election	--	--	--	--	48	37	61	55	44	60	40	49	48
Attend PA meetings	28	31	49	29	46	16	20	53	40	74	0	51	38
Boycott schoools	--	--	--	--	43	6	38	37	46	73	29	53	35
Sense of Efficacy													
Trust in Board of Education	--	--	--	--	40	49	36	49	35	30	44	28	58
Most effective way to make views known													
Contact principal	--	--	--	--	32	35	22	43	27	31	36	21	10
Contact Board of Education	--	--	--	--	25	22	27	21	27	26	15	25	30
Contact PA	--	---	--	--	20	24	20	24	17	23	22	21	18
Contact LSB	--	--	--	--	15	12	16	9	17	22	11	21	10
Effectiveness of PA	--	--	--	--	24	29	16	27	23	39	17	25	25

Although only about one-quarter of the parents thought that contacting the Board of Education was the most effective way to make their views known, a substantial percentage of all groups trusted the Board. Those parents in the integrated setting had the highest proportion (49 per cent) trusting the Board. Forty per cent of the demonstration project parents and 36 per cent of the segregated school parents also trusted the Board. Therefore, these statistics imply that if parents could communicate their problems to the Board, the Board would try to help them.

There were variations in the degree to which parents under different elements of the politicaly climate trusted the Board of Education. More of those under the pluralistic system (49 per cent) than under the elite one (35 per cent) trusted theBoard. More of the apoliticals (44 per cent) than the politically relevant (30 per cent) trusted the Board and twice as many of those who wanted less influence (58 per cent) than those who wanted more (28 per cent) were trusting.

Contacting the Parents Association was selected as the most effective means by one-fifth of the parents in the demonstration and the segregated areas, whereas one-quarter of the parents in the integrated setting chose this means. Few parents chose the PA as the most effective way to make their views known, and few of the total sample rated the PA as a generally effective organization. Twenty-nine per cent of the integrated area parents, 24 per cent of the demonstration project parents, and 16 per cent of those in the segregated setting believed the PA to be effective. There was little variation between elements in the political climate, except that twice as many of the politically relevant (39 per cent) as the apoliticals (17 per cent) believed the PA to be an effective organization.

Finally, less than one-sixth of all parent groups thought contacting their local school board would be the most effective way to make their views known.

Forty-three per cent of those parents living under the pluralistic power system thought contacting the principal was the most effective way to make their views known; 27 per cent of those within the elite system selected this means. There was little differentiation between the politically relevant and the apoliticals; approximately one-third of each group chose contacting the principal. However, twice as many of those desiring more influence (21 per cent) compared to those desiring less (10 per cent) believed the principal was the best recipient of their views. More of those in the elite system, more of the politically relevant, and more of those desiring less influence chose contacting the Board of Education as the most effective means than did their counterparts. There was little difference between groups in different political climates in selecting the PAs as the outlet for their views; about one-fifth to one-quarter of all groups made this choice. However, nearly twice as many (17 per cent) of those living in an elite power structure as those in the pluralistic system (9 per cent) thought contacting the LSB was the most effective way to make their views known. Twice as many of the politically relevant (22 per cent) as of the apoliticals (11 per cent) and twice as many of those desiring more influence (21 per cent) as of those desiring less (10 per cent) chose contacting the LSB.

Policy Outputs: Round II

Decentralization, which is the second policy output considered here, involves an organizational restructuring and the redistribution of power and authority. However, decentralization both as a word and as a concept means different things to different groups. Heretofore, with regard to decentralization output under the Board of Education, parents reacted, responded, and provided information to which those in authority could react. At the present writing, however, it is up to the State Legislature to definte what decentralization will be in the New York City school system. Once this definition is established, the groups undoubtedly will react in different ways--accepting, resisting, and/or modifying the constraints of the plan as they see them.

Feedback Stimuli: Round II

Once again, the parent attitudes, sentiments, and behavior of those groups fo which we have information provide an insight into how the administration's decentralization policy output was perceived and responded to and how information was fed back to the authorities.

Forty-six per cent of the citywide sample favored decentralization. More of the black parents (60 per cent) than the white parents (42 per cent) favored decentralization. Those parents in the segregated area were most in favor of decentralization (73 per cent), followed by parents in the integrated setting (57 per cent), and then the demonstration project parents (46 per cent; see Table XI.4).

More parents in the pluralistic system, although still a minority (39 per cent), than those in the elite system (25 per cent) favored decentralization. However, twice as many of the politically relevant (71 per cent) as the apoliticals (37 per cent) shared this approval. In addition, nearly five times as many of those who desired more influence (73 per cent) as those who desired less (15 per cent) favored decentralization.

Feedback Response: Round II

Demands

Given the above preferences for decentralization by educational setting and political climate, parents stood at the input threshhold

TABLE XI.4

FEEDBACK STIMULI: ROUND II

Attitudes toward Policy Outputs	Educational Setting							Polit'l Climate in Demon Projects					
	NYCity							Power Str		Act'l Inf		Des'd Inf	
	Tot	Wht	Blk	Sub	Dem	Int	Seg	Plur	Elite	High	Low	More	Less
Favor decentralization	46	42	60	46	46	57	73	39	25	71	37	73	15

with varying kinds of educational and political demands. On the citywide level a third of the parents (27 per cent of the whites and 60 per cent of the blacks) believed that the community had too little influence in determining curriculum, thereby implying a demand for more influence (see Table XI.5). It was expected, since essentially they had local control, at least in electing their own school board members, that only half as many of the suburban parents (17 per cent) thought this way. These proportions contrasted with those of the disadvantaged communities, where about 50 per cent of the parents in both the demonstration projects and the integrated setting and 60 per cent in the segregated areas believed that the community had too little influence in determining curriculum.

Significant contrasts also appeared between various elements in the political climate within the demonstration projects. Over half of the parents within an elite power structure, compared to one-third in the pluralistic structure, believed the community had too little influence in determining curriculum. Nearly three-fifths of the politically relevant, compared to two-fifths of the apoliticals, also wanted more influence in curricular matters. Finally, those wanting more influence desired that influence in the areas of curriculum by a ratio of almost four to one (69 to 18 per cent) over those desiring less.

The citywide parent sample showed that only slightly over one-quarter of the parents (24 per cent of the whites and 43 per cent of the blacks) wanted more to say about the relocation of funds; an even smaller percentage (21 per cent) in the suburbs demanded this voice. In the disadvantaged areas there was wide variation in the proportions demanding to determine the allocation of money. Nearly one-half of the parents in the demonstration projects made this demand, compared to only 16 per cent in the integrated setting and 26 per cent in the segregated setting. Three times as many parents in the demonstration project as in the segregated areas demanded a change in budgetary matters.

Significant differences also appeared among the various elements of the political climate. More parents in the elite system (53 per cent) than in the pluralistic system (38 per cent) wanted to determine the allocation of money. More than twice as many of the politically relevant (63 per cent as of the apoliticals (38 per cent) were making this demand and nearly three times as many of those wanting more influence (67 per cent) as those wanting less (23 per cent) thought the community should determine money allocations.

Only 28 per cent of the citywide sample (24 per cent of the whites and 53 per cent of the blacks wanted the authority to hire teachers and 17 per cent of the suburban parents thought they had too little influence in this area. However, 47 per cent of the demonstration project parents desired the right to hire teachers, as did 43 per cent of those in the integrated and 57 per cent in the segregated areas.

Fewer parents in the pluralistic (35 per cent) than in the elite setting (53 per cent) wanted to have a say in the hiring of teachers.

TABLE XI.5

FEEDBACK RESPONSE: ROUND II

	Educational Setting							Polit'l Climate in Demon Projects					
	NYCity							Power Str		Act'l Inf		Des'd Inf	
	Tot	Wht	Blk	Sub	Dem	Int	Seg	Plur	Elite	High	Low	More	Less
Specific Educational Demands													
Determine curriculum	33	27	60	27	46	49	60	34	53	58	40	69	18
Determine allocation of funds	28	24	43	21	47	16	25	38	53	63	38	67	23
Hiring teachers	28	24	53	17	47	43	57	35	53	66	37	68	18
Firing teachers	28	24	50	17	44	43	59	30	50	58	35	65	15
Political Demands													
Want more community influence	36	30	66	18	54	51	76	51	57	77	47	--	--
Who Should Govern?													
Parents	--	--	--	--	28	29	30	25	30	39	26	39	13
Professionals	--	--	--	--	35	46	44	38	33	33	35	27	56
Support													
Positive attitude toward authorities													
LSB	--	--	--	--	27	51	44	34	34	42	36	34	35
Local administration	--	--	--	--	27	--	--	27	28	50	23	33	18
Attitude toward regime													
Favor OH-B project in teacher dispute	19	11	46	18	29	15	29	22	33	56	18	45	9

Nearly two-thirds of the politically relevant, compared to slightly over one-third of the apoliticals, sought some influence in this area. Slightly more than two-thirds of the parents desiring more influence compared to those desiring less (18 per cent) wanted more participation in the hiring process.

Throughout the educational settings and the various elements of the political climate, there were comparable responses to questions about both hiring and firing teachers. With the exception of the whites in the citywide sample, the suburban area, and the segregated settings, a slightly smaller proportion of all groups desired more influence in this matter.

The political demand to share power and the opinions of who should govern also varied significantly among educational settings and among elements of the political climate. Thirty-six per cent of the citywide parent sample (30 per cent of the whites and 66 per cent of the blacks) wanted more community influence over school affairs in general, as did 54 per cent of the parents in the demonstration project settings and 51 per cent in the integrated setting. A much larger proportion (76 per cent) of the parents in the segregated areas wanted more influence in school decision-making.

There was little differentiation in the proportions of parents under the elite system, compared to those in the pluralistic system, who wanted more influence--51 per cent of the parents in the pluralistic system and 57 per cent in the elite system. However, more than three-quarters of the politically relevant, compared to less than half of the apoliticals, wanted more influence.

Among the educational settings, most parents believed that under a strong decentralization plan the professional staff should have the greatest degree of influence. Less than one-third in all settings thought the parents should have the most influence.

The political climate in which parents operated had some differential effects on their opinions of who should govern. Twenty-five per cent of those living in a pluralistic power structure and 30 per cent under the elite system thought parents should govern the schools. Thirty-nine per cent of the politically relevant, compared to 26 per cent of the apoliticals, believed parents should govern; three times as many of those desiring more influence (39 per cent) as those desiring less (13 per cent) believed parents should have the most influence.

Slightly over one-third of the parents in the demonstration projects, compared to 46 per cent in the integrated setting and 44 per cent in the segregated one, believed that the professional staff should govern under a strong decentralization plan. There were no measurements on this question for either the citywide or the suburban samples.

The only significant difference between elements of the political climate on the question of who should govern occurred between those who wanted more influence and those who wanted less. Twenty-seven per cent of those desiring more influence, compared to 56 per cent of those desiring less, believed that the professional staff should govern under decentralization. In all other elements of the political climate about one-third of the parents favored the professional staff. The only two groups that favored parents over professionals were the politically relevant and those desiring more influence.

Focus of Support

Under decentralization the natural focus of support would be the local school boards. Parent groups varied in the proportions of positive ratings and trust in their local school boards. Only slightly more than one-quarter of the parents in the demonstration projects, compared to 51 per cent in the integrated setting and 44 per cent in the segregated one, rated their boards positively.

The elements of the political climate showed little variation in the proportions of their positive ratings of local boards. Approximately one-third of each element supported the LSB, with the politically relevant supporting the LSB by a slightly higher percentage.

Most parents trusted their local school boards. The most trusting were those parents in the integrated setting (78 per cent), then the demonstration project parents(55 per cent), and finally the segregated setting parents (49 per cent). There were no citywide or suburban measurements on this question.

There were considerable variations between elements of the political climate in trusting their LSBs. Forty-six per cent of the parents under the pluralistic setting, compared to 60 per cent under the elite system, expressed trust. The politically relevant were more trusting than the apoliticals; 64 per cent of the former and 49 per cent of the latter expressed trust in the LSB. Similarly, 65 per cent of those desiring more influence, compared to 44 per cent desiring less, trusted the local boards.

Slightly over one-quarter of the demonstration project parents rated their administrators positively. No other parents were asked to make this assessment, since they were not directly affected. In this respect, there was little difference in the proportions under the two types of power structures. There was, however, considerable difference in other elements. More than twice as many of the politically relevant (50 per cent) as of the apoliticals (23 per cent) rated their administrators positively. Finally, almost twice as many of those desiring more influence (33 per cent) as of those desiring less (18 per cent) rated their project administrators positively.

Our one measurement to indicate support for the regime was the degree to which various segments of the community approved the stand taken by the Ocean Hill project authorities vis-a-vis the teachers. In this case, the authorities challenged an accepted rule of the game, due process, because they believed that community control could not operate effectively under the prevailing constraints on hiring and firing staff.

Generally, there was little support among the various educational settings for the stand taken by the Ocean Hill-Brownsville Demonstration Project Board. The greatest degree of support was expressed by the black citywide sample, followed by the demonstration project parents, then the segregated area parents. On a citywide basis, 19 per cent of the parents supported the stand of the Ocean Hill project authorities. Racially, 11 per cent of the white sample and 46 per cent of the black sample approved the stand. The suburban parents, predominantly white, supported the Ocean Hill administration by an amount slightly higher (13 per cent) than the white percentage in the citywide sample. However, 29 per cent of the demonstration project parents and an equal proportion of the segregated area parents, compared to only 15 per cent of the integrated school parents, sided with Ocean Hill against the teachers.

Those living under different elements of the political climate displayed significant differences in the amount of support they tendered to the Ocean Hill project administration. Twenty-two per cent of the parents in the pluralistic power structure, as compared to 33 per cent of those in the elite system, supported Ocean Hill. Three times as many of the politically relevant (56 per cent) as of the apoliticals (18 per cent) supported the project. Finally, five times as many of those desiring more influence (45 per cent) compared to those desiring less (9 per cent) sided with the Ocean Hill administration in its dispute with the teachers.

Information Feedback

Few parents considered the LSB the most effective recipient of their messages. There was little differentiation on this point among the educational settings; in proportions of only 12 to 16 per cent, the demonstration project parents, those in the integrated areas, and those in the segregated settings chose contacting the LSB as the most effective way to make their views known. However, all groups expressed considerable trust in their local boards (78 per cent of the parents in the integrated setting, 55 per cent in the demonstration projects, and 49 per cent in the segregated settings). Within each aspect of the political climate there were different degrees of trust for the local school boards. More parents living in the pluralistic power structure (60 per cent) than those living in the elite one (46 per cent) trusted their LSB. More of the politically relevant (64 per cent) than of the apoliticals (49 per cent) trusted the local boards, and a greater proportion of those wanting more influence (65 per cent) than of those wanting less (44 per cent) also were trusting of their local boards. We can understand the parents' limited selection of the LSB as receptor of their messages, especially in view of their substantial degree of support for these local authorities, if we note that (except in the demonstration projects) these boards were purely advisory--they had not real authority. The small percentage of demonstration project parents who chose their local boards as the most effective group can also be explained in terms of the newness of the boards and their untested authority.

Few parents took an active part in communicating directly with the authorities (see Table XI.6). Only 22 per cent of the parents in the demonstration projects (6 per cent in the integrated setting and 28 per cent in the segregated areas) had written to a public official. There was little variation between those living in an elite or in a pluralistic system; about one-fifth of each group had written to a public official. Eighty-five per cent of the politically relevant had written to a public official, whereas none of the apoliticals had done so. Twenty-eight per cent of those wanting more influence, compared to 17 per cent of those wanting less, had written to an official.

About one-fifth of the parents in both the demonstration projects and the segregated school areas had boycotted the schools. Only 6 per cent of those in the integrated setting had kept their children out of school. Twice as many of those in the elite system (24 per cent) as in the pluralistic setting (10 per cent) had boycotted their schools. Almost three times as many of the politically relevant (34 per cent) as the apoliticals (12 per cent) and those who wanted more influence (28 per cent), compared to those who wanted less (10 per cent), had engaged in boycotting.

About one-fifth of the parents in the demonstration projects and in the segregated settings had demonstrated on educational issues. This was twice the proportion of those in the integrated setting who had demonstrated (10 per cent). Although there was little variation between power structures (19 per cent of those in the pluralistic setting and 23 per cent in the elite one), five times as many of the politically relevant (54 per cent), compared to the apoliticals (10 per cent), had demonstrated. Three times as many of those who wanted more influence (31 per cent) as those who wanted less (10 per cent) also had demonstrated.

Conclusion

Thus, we have learned that the enormous differences in parent attitudes toward two different policy outputs vary according to the educational setting and political climate. The authorities must make decisions about the system on the basis of information that is often conflicting and ambiguous. Therefore, it is important to examine the

TABLE XI.6

INFORMATION FEEDBACK: ROUND II

	Educational Setting							Polit'l Climate in Demon Projects					
	NYCity							Power Str		Act'l Inf		Des'd Inf	
	Tot	Wht	Blk	Sub	Dem	Int	Seg	Plur	Elite	High	Low	More	Less
Political Activities													
Writing public official	--	--	--	--	22	6	28	21	22	85	0	28	17
Boycotting schools	--	--	--	--	19	6	22	10	24	34	12	28	10
Demonstrating	--	--	--	--	22	10	20	19	23	54	10	31	10
Contacting LSB	--	--	--	--	13	8	11	12	13	54	10	19	7
Trusting LSB	--	--	--	--	55	78	49	46	60	64	49	65	44

contextual configurations of parent attitudes, sentiments, and behavior *within* a particular educational setting and political climate. This we will do in the final chapter.

CHAPTER XII

THE AUTHORITIES AND THEIR CLIENTS: WHO LISTENS AND RESPONDS TO WHOM

The Authorities as Receptors

If the feedback loop is to have any significance, we need to know not only what are the output stimuli, the responses at input, and the information feedback, but also what information the authorities are responding to--that is, who is listening and receiving messages from whom and what they are learning. Easton delineates these factors as "the degree of responsiveness of the authorities themselves, the time lags in reacting to the feedback response, the competence of the authorities, and the resources, internal and external, available to them."[1]

Of course, we would have preferred to have much more data on the factors operating in the authoritative agencies which affect their selection and interpretation of information. However, the available data limit our analysis to the responsiveness of the authorities as it pertains both to the educational outputs we are discussing and to the elements of social and political distance between the authorities and their clients. Again, according to Easton:

> The sympathies of the authorities, their capacity to understand and appreciate sensitively the problems and demands of others, their intuitive ability to forsee emerging wants of members, and their general attunement to the perspectives and ambitions of various parts of the politically relevant members in a system will help to establish the kind of attention they pay to feedback response from such members. It will lead them to listen and react selectively to the information coming from the members and thereby it will influence the concern and attention paid to feedback response. . . . lack of responsiveness need not be due to

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[1] David Easton, A Systems Analysis of Political Life (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1965), p. 433.

any calculated design or desire to thwart those putting in demands. It may simply be a product of the inability on the part of the authorities to comprehend what those voicing demands really want.[1]

Thus, one can ask what selective process a school superintendent uses to listen to whom in the system? Superintendent Donovan, for instance, is white, he lives in an affluent white section of New York City, and his children attended parochial schools. Does he read the citywide response from its predominantly white, politically relevant members, whom he would be expected to understand best? He has achieved success in their world and on their terms; he can understand their orientation and preferences for quality education at the expense of integration. Their procedures for getting things are the procedures he uses, their language is his language.

On the other hand, what does the Reverend Milton Galamison hear? He is the man who asked for Donovan's resignation. He is black, power-oriented, a man whose success has been based on his ability to confront the system. Does he still listen, as he did, to the blacks in an integrated setting who are relatively satisfied with authority outputs, or does he now listen to the blacks who want more influence, the blacks who are politically relevant, and the black leaders of an elite power structure who confront the system as he has done?

Similarly, what kind of selection process is used by John Doar, President of the New York City Board of Education, who has shown himself to be committed to a legally and socially just system? Doar is white, upper middle class, lives in a desirable subcommunity in Brooklyn Heights. A newcomer to New York City, an associate of the late Senator Robert Kennedy and director of the Bedford-Stuyvesant Corporation, does he listen more carefully to the disadvantaged, especially the politically relevant and those who desire more influence in the community? On the other hand, committed as he is to the legal process, may he not also be resistant to their extra-legal means of expressing their demands?

The problem of selectivity in the information feedback process and the subsequent output reaction of the authorities is important to access within the diversity of urban politics, especially if, as in New York City, the system is experiencing stress and tension..

Instead of following each phase of the loop for the perceptions of those in the five different educational settings, and then for those in different elements of the political climates, we shall now trace each round of a policy output for each group of the participants. In this way we hope to understand both the parental sentiments in each educational setting and for each element of the political climate and also the information feedback placed by each group into the channels of the system to which the authorities may or may not respond.

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[1] Ibid., p. 437.

Clients' Reactions to Desegregation (Round I)

Citywide Setting: White and Black

For our purposes the citywide sample is presented as two separate sets of subcommunities with different reactions to the policies of desegregation. While half the black parents approved of desegregation, only 17 per cent of the whites agreed. Environmentally, 54 per cent of the white parents believed their neighborhoods were declining, compared to 40 per cent of the blacks. Almost three times as many blacks felt their children were receiving a poorer education than white students. The same proportions of white and black parents (27 per cent) agreed that their schools were not as good as they used to be. Support for the New York City Board of Education was extremely low, with 11 per cent of the white parents and 14 per cent of the blacks holding a positive view. However, nearly three-quarters of the whites, compared to only 56 per cent of the blacks, rated the teachers positively. Whites were somewhat more in support of the regime; only 38 per cent favored elected local school boards, compared to 54 per cent of the blacks. More black parents (49 per cent) than whites (31 per cent) used the accepted channel for information feedback--the parents associations.

The Suburban Setting

Few suburban parents had a favorable perception of desegregation as an output, even though they were not faced with any plans or immediate implementation of the policy. Yet 31 per cent of the suburban parents, mostly white, were favorably disposed to desegregation, or twice the proportion of their white counterparts in the city, 17 per cent of whom supported integration. Suburbanites were very satisfied with their neighborhoods and schools; few of them thought there were racial inequalities in education. They demanded no substantial changes in education; they were extremely supportive of their authorities and regimes. Only 16 per cent thought their neighborhoods had deteriorated. Twenty-nine per cent believed that whites received a better education than blacks. Only 14 per cent believed that their schools were not as good as they used to be. Nearly three-quarters of the suburban parents rated their boards of education positively and 88 per cent of them rated their teachers positively. Over two-thirds of the parents supported their elected school boards. With this rather satisfying set of circumstances, it is little wonder that only a small percentage of parents were involved in the parents associations, the single most accepted channel for transmitting information about the system to the authorities. Less than a third of the parents attended four or more PA meetings a year.

Setting of the Demonstration Projects

A majority of parents in the demonstration projects supported the authoritative output of desegregation; in fact, a ratio of about two to one of all the disadvantaged community parents over the white city and suburban samples had favorable perceptions of this output. Nearly one-half of the demonstration project parents believed their neighborhoods to be deteriorating, two-fifths of them believed white children received a better education than their own, over one-quarter of them were cynical, and less than one-fifth felt illegitimate sanctioning to be operative. Two-fifths of them demanded improved educational opportunities, both in the schools generally and in curriculum matters. In addition, nearly one-third of the demonstration parents expected the schools to improve and should their present expectations not be realized, they might very well become tomorrow's demands. Approximately one-third of the parents supported the Board of Education; this was a ratio of nearly three to one over the citywide rating but only half as great as the suburban support. However, two-fifths of the demonstration project parents trusted the Board. Less than half of the parents gave positive ratings to their school teachers and 53 per cent gave positive ratings to their principals. Less than one-third supported the present regime. Nearly half of the parents had voted for the Mayor, making this potential source of information an operative factor. Demonstration project parents substantially utilized the traditional PA structure by which to channel information; nearly half of them had attended four or more meetings during the year in question. Only one-fifth of them, however, believed the PA was an effective means by which to secure improvement in the schools. More of the demonstration parents (32 per cent) believed contacting the principal was a more effective means to make their views known to the authorities. One-quarter believed that contacting the Board of Education was effective, but only 15 per cent would rely on the local school board.

The Integrated Setting

Over half of the parents in the integrated school setting favored desegregation. Their demand responses were sifted through only slight dissatisfaction with the neighborhood (33 per cent). However, this group had the largest proportion of all parent groups (54 per cent) who believed that whites received a better education than blacks. Not only did these parents have a sense of social inequality in education, they also were highly cynical. Nevertheless, the parents in the integrated setting placed few educational demands on the system. Only 10 per cent believed their schools were not as good as the previous year. This percentage about equalled the degree of suburban satisfaction, was less than half of the citywide dissatisfaction, only one-quarter the degree of dissatisfaction in the demonstration project setting, and half that of the segregated setting. In addition, one-third of these parents expected that their schools would get even better and a majority of them were satisfied with the curriculum.

Given the level of satisfaction with the schools, one might have expected more support for the authorities, yet only slightly over one-quarter of these parents supported the Board of Education. However, half of them trusted the Board. Nearly two-thirds supported their teachers; half of them supported their principals. Yet nearly one-third of them did not support the regime; instead they favored elected local board of education.

Large proportions of parents in the integrated setting did not utilize the traditional channels for information feedback. Only slightly over one-third of them had voted in the mayoralty election of 1965, and a mere 16 per cent had attended four or more PA meetings. Thus, few were using these opportunities to send messages to the authorities. The largest proportion (35 per cent) regarded contacting the principal as the best way to make their views known, slightly over one-fifth chose the Board of Education as a receptor for information, nearly one-quarter believed the PA to be most effective (even though few utilized this channel), and only 12 per cent classified theLSB as most effective.

The Segregated Setting

Those parents living in the area of the segregated educational setting had the most favorable perception of the integration output; with 62 per cent of them favoring desegregation. Two-fifths of them believed that whites received a better education than blacks. Parents in this setting were quite trusting; only 13 per cent were highly cynical.

At the input threshhold, few segregated school parents were making educational demands. Less than one-quarter believed their schools were not as good as the year before, but nearly half expected them to get better. Nearly three-fifths of them rated the school curriculum positively.

Of all the disadvantaged educational settings, the parents in the segregated setting provided the highest degree (37 per cent) of support for the Board of Education but the lowest degree of trust (36 per cent). A majority of them supported the teachers, but less than half supported their principals. More of these parents, however, than in any other setting supported the present regime (appointed local boards), with only 14 per cent of them favoring elected local school boards.

Few parents in the segregated school areas availed themselves of the PA as a means of sending their messages to the authorities. Only one-fifth of them regularly attended PA meetings. The largest proportion of these parents (27 per cent) believed the most effective way to make their views known was through the Board of Education. The two next most effective ways, they believed, were to contact the principal (22 per cent) and to contact the PA (20 per cent). Sixteen per cent chose contacting the LSB as the most effective way to make their views known.

The Pluralistic System

Within the pluralistic power structure, the perceptions of the desegregation output were highly favorable. Half of the parents supported desegregation. Less than one-third of them believed their neighborhoods were deteriorating; only 16 per cent believed that whites were receiving a better education than blacks. Psychologically, these parents were moderately cynical (32 per cent) and very few (14 per cent) had a sense of sanctioning.

The parents in the pluralistic power structure made few educational demands; only 23 per cent believed their schools were not as good as the previous year, and 50 per cent rated the curriculum favorably. However, nearly one-third of them expected the schools to get better.

Forty-five per cent supported the Board of Education and nearly half of them trusted the Board. Nearly three-fifths rated their teachers positively. In addition, only 29 per cent opposed the present regime and favored an elected local school board.

Parents in the pluralistic system took advantage of the traditional means of making their messages known. Over half of them voted in the 1965 mayoralty election and 53 per cent had attended four or more PA meetings during the year. By a ratio of almost two to one these parents believed that the most effective way to make their views known was to contact their school principal. About one-quarter thought the best way was through the PA and another fifth chose contacting the Board of Education. Only 9 per cent viewed the LSB as the most effective way to send their messages through the system.

The Elite System

Fifty-five per cent of the parents in the elite system also perceived desegregation as a favorable policy output. This group of parents held the most negative views of their neighborhoods; with 58 per cent of them believing their neighborhoods were deteriorating. Over half of these parents believed there was racial inequality in education, that is, that whites received a better education than blacks. Over half the parents in the elite power structure were cynical and nearly one-fifth of them had a high sense of sanctioning.

Twice as many parents in the elite system, compared to those in the pluralistic system, demanded educational reforms. Fifty-two per cent of them said their schools were not as good as the year before; only one-third rated the curriculum positively and only one-third were optimistic in their sense that the schools would get better.

Only a quarter of the parents in the elite structure supported the Board of Education; about one-third trusted the Board. Less than half rated teachers and principals positively. Despite this amount of dissatisfaction and negativism, less than one-third had withdrawn their support of the regime by calling for elected local school boards,

About two-fifths of the parents in the elite power structure utilized the traditional means of getting information back to the authorities--in voting for the Mayor in 1965 and/or attending four or more PA meetings during the year. A quarter of the parents believed that contacting the principal and the Board of Education are the most effective ways to make their views known. Only 17 per cent of them thought that getting their messages to the PA or the LSB are most effective.

The Politically Relevant Parents

The politically relevant held favorable views about the policy output on desegregation. However, they were very critical of their neighborhoods, with 54 per cent of them perceiving deterioration. This group of parents contained the largest proportion (66 per cent) who believed that whites receive a better education than blacks. A quarter of the politically relevant were highly cynical. Only 9 per cent of these parents had a high sense of sanctioning. With these psychological states, therefore, they were the group of parents most able and likely to be politically active.

The politically relevant brought to the input threshhold considerable demands for improved educational outputs. More than half of them rated their schools as going downhill, while a third rated the curriculum positively. And 37 per cent of them, more than any other element of the political climate, expected the schools to get better.

The politically relevant expressed the least support of any group for the Board of Education. Only 15 per cent rated theBoard positively, while one-third trusted theBoard. Only two-fifths of the politically relevant rated their teachers positively, while half rated the principals positively. Finally, more parents in this group (52 per cent) wanted a change in the regime and favored elected local school boards.

The politically relevant, by definition, were the most active in getting their messages into the system. Sixty per cent of them had voted in the 1965 mayoralty election and 74 per cent of them had attended four or more PA meetings the previous year. Thirty-one per cent of them thought the principals were the best receptors of their views; the remainder were about equally divided among the Board of Education, the PA, and the LSB.

The Apolitical Parents

The apolitical parents were as favorable in their perceptions of desegregation (half of them favored desegregation) as those under other political climates. About half of them also thought their neighborhoods were not as good as they had been, and an equal proportion believed that whites received a better education than blacks. About one-quarter of the apoliticals rated high on the scale of cynicism, and approximately one-fifth of them had a high sense that sanctioning was in operation.

The apoliticals made few demands in educational terms. Only a third of them believed their schools had deteriorated and half rated the curriculum positively. The apoliticals had low expectations that the schools would get better--only 29 per cent made this assessment.

More than one-third of the apoliticals supported the Board of Education and nearly half of them trusted the Board. Over half of these parents rated their teachers and principals positively. The apoliticals were quite supportive of the present regime, with only 26 per cent favoring elected local boards of education over appointed ones.

Again by definition, the apoliticals were not aggressive in making their views known. Only 40 per cent had voted in the 1965 mayoralty election and none of them had attended as many as four PA meetings during the year in question. The largest proportion of these parents (36 per cent) believed that contacting the principal was the most effective way to make their views known. About one-fifth believed the best contact would be the PA, 15 per cent indicated the Board of Education, and 11 per cent chose theLSB for this function.

Parents Desiring More Community Influence

Although there were insignificant differences between those parents in different segments of the political climate, those desiring more influence perceived most favorably the policy output of desegregation (56 per cent). One-half thought their neighborhoods were deteriorating; nearly half believed that whites received a better education than blacks. Those desiring more influence were the most cynical of any group, whether by educational setting or under different political climates, and they had the largest proportion with a high sense of sanctioning. Seventy-one per cent were highly cynical and 54 per cent had a high sense of being sanctioned. The proportion of those highly cynical was twice that of any other group, as was the proportion with a high sense of sanctioning.

Half of those desiring more influence came to the input threshhold in the belief that their schools were not as good as the year before; only a third of them rated the curriculum positively. Approximately one-third expected that the schools would improve.

Only one-fifth of this group supported the Board of Education and one-quarter trusted the Board. Those desiring more influence were the least trusting of the Board among all groups in any setting. In addition, only two-fifths of this group of parents rated their teachers positively--this, too, was the smallest proportion among the groups. Principals elicited somewhat more support (one-half) than other authorities. Finally, two-fifths of those desiring more influence favored elected local school boards; this preference showed their lack of support for the present regime.

Fairly high proportions of the parents desiring more influence used the traditional means of expressing their views. Nearly one-half of them had voted in the 1965 mayoralty election and 51 per cent had attended four or more PTA meetings the previous year. More parents in this group (25 per cent) believed that contacting the Board of Education was a more effective way of making their views known than other listed means. Each of the following ways--contacting the principal, the PA, and the LSB--was selected as the most effective channel by one-fifth of the parents in this group.

Parents Desiring Less Community Influence

Favorable perceptions of the authoritative output of desegregation were held by those parents desiring less influence. Over one-half favored desegregation. One-half viewed their neighborhoods as not as good as in the previous year, but only one-third believed that blacks were getting an inferior education in comparison to whites. A very small proportion (17 per cent) of those desiring less influence were cynical, but about one-third of them had a high sense of sanctioning.

At the input threshhold these parents were quite similar to their counterparts, those desiring more influence. Forty-five per cent believed their schools were not as good as the year before, but nearly one-half rated the curriculum positively. Those desiring less influence were the most pessimistic; only a quarter of them expected the schools to improve.

Those parents who wanted less community influence had the highest proportion (45 per cent) supporting the Board of Education. They were the most trusting of the Board (58 per cent). They were highly supportive of the teachers (61 per cent), the principals (64 per cent), and the regime; only 16 per cent favored elected local school boards over the present appointed ones.

Parents desiring less influence used voting to a moderate degree--48 per cent had voted for Mayor in 1965 but were less active in using other traditional means to make their views known. Only 38 per cent had attended four or more meetings of the PA in the previous year. Less than one-fifth of this group believed contacting the Board of Education was the most effective way to make their views known. Only 10 per cent of them (the smallest proportion of any group) would contact the principal, 18 per cent selected the PA as the most effective channel, and 10 per cent chose the LSB.

Summary of Findings on Desegregation

The fact that desegregation policy outputs have been severely curtailed in New York City indicates that the authorities were reading the citywide sentiments as largely reflective of the greater white society. This in spite of the fact that all disadvantaged groups have been highly in favor of desegregation, especially those parents whose children are experiencing traditional or black segregated education and those whose children are actually experiencing a racially mixed education. The authorities would find it difficult to ignore the loss of support for themselves and the regime among the predominantly white society as the result of a desegregation policy. They also could not help but contrast the satisfaction and support among suburban parents for their schools, their authorities, and their regimes.

The authorities also could read that only a small proportion of parents in the city at large and few within many disadvantaged groups really believed that whites received a better education than blacks. Few of the disadvantaged were cynical or aware of the sanctioning in the system. The authorities learned that educational demands were not overwhelming in the black communities but were becoming so in the greater white society. They easily read that there was greater support for the authorities and the regime in the disadvantaged areas than in the city at large and therefore, politically speaking, if the authorities desired to maintain the system, they must respond with policy outputs that would both increase citywide (predominantly white) support and maximize the support of the disadvantaged communities. Thus, if the authorities recognize the rigid cleavages that have developed between the white community and the disadvantaged black communities over desegregation, their best response would be a plan to permit each of many segments to control and change those elements most disturbing to it. In the case of the white society, the focus would be increased quality of education without integration; in the case of the blacks, it would be increased local community power followed by improved quality. Those in the disadvantaged communities who are most likely to control under such circumstances are the politically relevant. Although the politically relevant represent only about 10 per cent of the community, they will most likely be reinforced by those parents who want more influence.

Clients' Reactions to Decentralization (Round II)

After desegregation, the next major policy output in the process of transforming urban education was the Board of Education's policy on decentralization. Actually, the Board had issued a policy of administrative decentralization, which included the creation of the three demonstration projects conceived to ascertain the effect on education of increased parent and community participation. Decentralization itself has not been clearly defined or understood. There is no consensus about the degree of authority, participation, or power thatis or should be delegated to the local community among the various participants in the system. The ambiguity has resulted in various perceptions, responses, and reactions to this salient output of decentralization.

Citywide Setting: White and Black

White. Although 46 per cent of the citywide sample favored decentralization, only 42 per cent of the white parents shared their sentiment. A greater proportion of the white parents must have viewed this output as providing a more favorable delivery system to themselves, rather than a means to influence specific educational areas, since a smaller percentage of them demanded more influence in specific educational areas than favored decentralization or wanted more community influence in determining curriculum, allocations of money, and the authority to hire and fire teachers. Nearly a third wanted more community influence in running the schools generally.

There was no measure of support in the citywide sample for the LSBs or any other local authority. The degree of support for the regime in terms of supporting the Ocean Hill administration over the teachers in the 1968 dispute was indicated by the small proportion (19 per cent) of the citywide sample siding with Ocean Hill. Of this support, only 11 per cent of the whites supported Ocean Hill. There is no measure on information feedback for the citywide sample, either black or white.

Black. The black parents were more in favor of decentralization (60 per cent) than were the whites (42 per cent). Not only were the blacks making political demands, they also were making educational demands in terms of wanting more influence in determining the curriculum (60 per cent), determining financial allocations (43 per cent), hiring teachers (53 per cent), and firing them (50 per cent). The largest proportion of blacks (66 per cent) wanted more influence generally in school decision-making. Although there is no measure of support for authority, the percentage of blacks supporting the regime was lower than in any other educational setting. Forty-six per cent of the black parents supported the Ocean Hill administration rather than the teachers in the recent dispute.

The Suburban Setting

Forty-six per cent of the suburban parents favored decentralization. Their view of decentralization probably was more one that approved a restructuring of their areas into smaller districts, for few of these parents seemed to want more influence either in specific educational areas or in general school decision-making. Only 17 per cent of the suburbanites wanted more influence in determining curriculum and hiring and firing teachers. Twenty-one per cent wanted a greater say in determining allocations of money. Finally, only 18 per cent of the suburbanites wanted more community influence in school matters in general. There are no measurements on information feedback for the suburban sample. A small proportion (18 per cent) of these parents favored the Ocean Hill-Brownsville Project Board in its dispute with the teachers. Therefore, they indicated high suburban support for the due process component of the prevailing regime.

The Demonstration Projects

Not only did half the demonstration project parents favor the decentralization policy, but their demands were both political in the sense that they wanted more community influence in school matters generally and educational in that more than one-half wanted moreinfluence in determining the curriculum, determining allocations of money, and in hiring and firing teachers. In spite of the fact that the demonstration project parents wanted more influence in the schools, larger proportions of them (ranging from 35 to 28 per cent) thought that the professional staff rather than the parents should govern under a strong decentralization plan.

Only 27 per cent of the demonstration project parents held a positive view about their local project boards and an equal proportion held similar views about the project administrators. Again, only 29 per cent of the parents supported the Ocean Hill administration in its first confrontation with the teachers(spring, 1968), thereby supporting "due process" as an important part of the regime. Few parents engaged in activities which would provide the authorities with information about their sentiments and attitudes; only 22 per cent of them had written the public officials, 19 per cent had boycotted the schools, 22 per cent had demonstrated, and a mere 13 per cent had ever contacted their local boards. These local boards, however, were good potential recipients of information, as more than half of the parents trusted these local authorities.

The Integrated Setting

More than one-half (57 per cent) of those parents in the integrated school setting perceived decentralization as a desirable output. The output in itself did not lessen demands for educational or political change. These two types of demands were, in fact, perceived as having equal import. One-half of these parents wanted more community influence in the schools generally. Nearly one-half also desired more influence in determining curriculum, while 43 per cent wished to have a part in both the hiring and firing of teachers. Yet only 16 per cent of these parents desired to have influence over the allocation of funds. More of them (46 per cent) than in any other educational setting believed that if a strong decentralization plan were established, the professional staff should govern. Slightly over one-quarter thought that the parents should have the greatest influence under such a plan.

The parents in the integrated setting also included the largest proportion (51 per cent) holding a positive view toward their local school board; their support of the regime was extremely high, with only 15 per cent favoring the stand taken by the Ocean Hill Project Board against the teachers. These parents were the least active of any group in making their views known. Only 6 per cent of them had either written to a school official or boycotted the schools. Only 10 per cent had demonstrated and even fewer (8 per cent) had contacted their local school board. Their lack of activity may be attributed to a high degree of satisfaction with the local board, since 78 per cent of them, the highest proportion of any group, trusted their LSB.

The Segregated Setting

Parents with children in segregated schools were the most in favor of decentralization--nearly three-quarters of them perceived this output positively. They also expressed the strongest political demands; three-quarters wanted more community influence in general school decision-making. Parents in the segregated areas also expressed the strongest specific educational demands, with approximately three-fifths of them wanting more to say in determining curriculum, hiring and firing teachers. More than one-quarter of them also wanted to help determine the allocation of funds. In spite of the strong desire for greater influence, more of these parents (44 per cent) believed that the professional staff should govern than that parents should govern if a strong decentralization plan were to be established. Less than half of the parents held a positive view of their LSBs; 29 per cent of them favored the Ocean Hill authorities over the teachers in their dispute.

The parents in the segregated setting took a more active part than parents in other settings. Twenty-eight per cent had written to a public official, 22 per cent had boycotted, and 20 per cent had demonstrated. Like parents inthe other setting, few (11 per cent) had contacted their LSBs about problems and these parents included a smaller proportion (49 per cent) than other groups that trusted the local boards.

The Pluralistic System

Only 39 per cent of the parents living under the pluralistic power structure perceived decentralization favorably. However, more than one-half of these parents were making political demands in the sense of desiring more community influence in running the schools. Approximately one-third of the parents made implicit educational demands, desiring more influence in determining the curriculum, the allocation of funds, and having some influence in the hiring and firing of teachers.

More of the parents in the pluralistic system believed that the professional staff (38 per cent) rather than the parents (25 per cent) should govern if a strong decentralization plan were put into effect. About one-third of these parents held a positive attitude toward their local project board; only slightly over one-quarter rated their project administrator positively. Support for the local authorities was low. In addition, most parents supported the present regime at least as far as 'due process' was concerned; only 29 per cent supported the Ocean Hill authorities vis-a-vis the teachers.

One-fifth or fewer of theparents in the pluralistic setting had participated in any one activity that might offer an opportunity to make their views known. Twenty-one per cent had written to a public official, one-half as many (10 per cent) had boycotted, and 19 per cent had demonstrated on school matters. Only 12 per cent of these parents had contacted their local project board, although 46 per cent trusted the board.

The Elite System

A smaller proportion of the parents (25 per cent) in the elite power structure than in the pluralistic one perceived decentralization favorably. Fifty-seven per cent of these parents wanted more community influence in school decision-making and a somewhat smaller proportion, although still more than one-half, wanted moreinfluence in determining curriculum and allocating funds, as well as in the hiring and firing of teachers. An almost equal proportion thought that parents should govern under a strong decentralization plan as believed that professionals should.

About one-third of the parents in the elite system had a positive attitude toward the LPB and 28 per cent held a similar view of the local administrator. Only one-third of these parents supported the Ocean Hill board rather than the teachers in the spring, 1968, dispute. Therefore, many parents appeared to be supporting the concept of due process as a part of the regime.

More parents in the elite than in the pluralistic system had actively expressed their views. Nearly one-quarter of them had written to public officials, boycotted the schools, and demonstrated. Only 13 per cent had contacted their LPB, but three-fifths of the parents trusted the local board.

The Politically Relevant Parents

Seventy-one per cent of the politically relevant parents perceived the decentralization output favorably. In fact, more than three-quarters of these parents wanted more community influence over the schools in general. The politically relevant also were making substantial demands for specific educational changes (58 per cent of them wanted to determine curriculum, 63 per cent wanted more influence in determining allocations of money, 66 per cent wanted to take part in hiring teachers, and 58 per cent wanted to have influence in firing teachers). This group of parents, and those who wanted more influence, were the only groups with a larger proportion (39 per cent) who thought that parents *should* govern rather than professionals (33 per cent) if a strong decentralization plan should be established.

The politically relevant were the most supportive of their LPBs (42 per cent) of any element of the political climate, as well as the most supportive of their perject administrators (50 per cent). This group also was least supportive of the regime, with 56 per cent of the politically relevant favoring the Ocean Hill administration in its dispute with the teachers.

Of course, the politically relevant were the most active of all parents. Eighty-five per cent had written to a public official, 34 per cent had boycotted, and 54 per cent had demonstrated. More of the politically relevant (54 per cent) had contacted their LPBs and more of them (64 per cent) than almost any other group trusted their LPBs.

The Apolitical Parents

Only about one-half as many of the apoliticals (37 per cent) as the politically relevant favored decentralization. Some two-fifths of them wanted moreinfluence in determining curriculum and allocating funds and an equal proportion wanted a voice in hiring and firing teachers. However, nearly one-half of the apoliticals wanted more influence in the schools in general. Only one-quarter of this group thought parents *should* govern if a strong decentralization plan went into effect, whereas 35 per cent thought the professional staff *should* have the most influence under such a plan.

Slightly over one-third of the apoliticals held a positive view of the LPB and less than one-quarter held such a view of their local administrators. Very few parents in this group objected to the present regime, at least the due process component; only 18 per cent favored the Ocean Hill authorities vis-a-vis the teachers in their dispute.

Expectedly, very few of the apoliticals provided information feedback. None of them had written to a public official or contacted their local boards, only 12 per cent had boycotted, and 10 per cent had demonstrated. However, nearly half of this group trusted their local boards.

Parents Desiring More Community Influence

Nearly three-quarters of those parents who wanted more influence favored decentralization. Much greater proportions of these parents also demanded more influence in specific educational areas. Approximately two-thirds of them wanted more to say about the curriculum, financial allocations, hiring and firing teachers. More of this group of parents, like the politically relevant, believed that parents (39 per cent) rather than professionals (27 per cent) *should* govern if a strong decentralization plan went into effect.

One-third of this group supported its LPBs and project administrators. Moreover, 45 per cent favored the Ocean Hill authorities over the teachers in the dispute of spring, 1968, indicating a lack of support for the regime.

After the politically relevant, this group was the next most active. Twenty-eight per cent of them had written public officials and boycotted the schools, 31 per cent had demonstrated. Only about one-fifth of these parents had contacted their local boards, whereas 65 per cent trusted the boards.

Parents Desiring Less Community Influence

Expectedly, the smallest proportion of any group favoring decentralization occurred among those who wanted less influence; only 15 per cent of these parents perceived decentralization favorably. Only a small proportion of this group, of course, wanted influence even in educational matters. Only 18 per cent wanted to determine curriculum, 23 per cent wanted to determine the allocation of funds, 18 per cent wanted to play a part in the hiring of teachers, and 15 per cent wanted to participate in firing teachers.

Under a strong decentralization plan, only 13 per cent of these parents believed that parents should govern, whereas 56 per cent thought the professional staff should. This was the largest difference of any group preferring one or the other--professionals or parents--to govern the schools.

Thirty-five per cent of these parents supported their LPBs, but only 18 per cent had a positive view of the local administrator. Those who wanted less influence formed a smaller proportion (9 per cent) than any other group supporting Ocean Hill vis-a-vis the teachers, thus indicating their support of the regime.

Those who wanted less influence provided little information feedback for the authorities. Only 17 per cent had written to a public official, 10 per cent had boycotted, and an equal percentage had demonstrated. A mere 7 per cent had contacted their LPB, although 44 per cent trusted these local authorities.

Summary of Findings on Decentralization

Although desegregation as a policy output produced great variations of reaction among participants, and although decentralization generally was supported, there is no greater actual consensus about the latter than about the former. Desegregation clearly was understood as being intended to correct the racial mix of the public schools by means of rezoning or reorganizing the existing patterns of school attendance. As a policy promulgation, integration was accepted, at least not visibly resisted. However, when specific plans for implementation were announced, white resistance developed around the particular schools affected and spread throughout the city, resulting in a major white boycott of the schools in September, 1964. It should be noted that the black parents generally accepted integration and conducted their own, more effective boycott of the schools to express their demands in support of desegregation.

Decentralization, on the other hand, still remains virtually in the policy promulgation stage. The Board of Education's general administrative decentralization plan of April, 1967, was not widely understood or even perceived as being in operation--at any rate, with the exception of the three demonstration projects, it produced neither any substantial change nor any controversy. The major impacts on the system were the early disputes at IS 201 and the major confrontation between the Ocean Hill project authorities and the teachers, which resulted in a ten-week citywide strike by the UFT. The final form of the decentralization and the steps of its implementation now are in the hands of the State Legislature at Albany. It is as likely that when the New York City decentralization plan takes a specific form, the variation in perceptions and responses will be as great as they were with regard to the plam for desegregation.

Our parent survey has shown that most parents, black and white, favor decentralization. However, those living under the pluralistic power structure, the apoliticals, and those wanting less influence form only small proportions in favor of decentralization, suggesting that they may be apprehensive of greater community involvement or of being governed by factions of the opposition. Those parents living in the elite power structure also are less supportive of decentralization than blacks in general, an indication that they may expect the plan will not be extensive enough for them.

The authorities may find themselves once again in a difficult situation with a specific decentralization plan. Although whites in the citywide sample favored decentralization in theory, only a small proportion of them wanted more influence in school affairs generally or in specific educational areas, whereas at least half the blacks in the citywide sample, the demonstration project parents, and those in the integrated and segregated areas all wanted more influence both generally and in specific educational areas.

Few parents want to eliminate due process as it pertains to the teachers, but those who favor community control, even at the expense of due process, are the citywide blacks, the politically relevant, and those who want more influence in the demonstration project subcommunities. Few parents rate their local school boards positively, but those who do are the parents in the integrated area and the politically relevant in the demonstration projects. However, most parents trust their local boards, thereby indicating that these boards need to have either more effective personnel or greater authority with which to respond to their clients' needs. Finally, most parents prefer to have professionals rather than parents governing under a strong decentralization plan, thus necessitating a partnership between parents, professionals, and community.

Few parents utilize the traditional channels to make their views known. However, those whomake the greatest use of these channels are the politically relevant (the opinion-setters) and those who want more influence. Therefore, the authorities can expect, as they have learned in the past, that as dissatisfaction with the policy outputs grows, the parents, guided by spokesmen for comprehensive change, are more than likely to use illegitimate means to express their demands.

Obviously, the authorities have taken into account the messages of the apoliticals, of those within the pluralistic climate, and of those who want less influence, because it facilitates their efforts to compromise after having experienced a period of prolonged conflict. However, they have not dealt with the fact that it is the politically relevant, in spite of their small proportions, who articulate and husband most of the demands.

By proposing a plan that leaves the demonstration projects intact but fails to grant the desired powers, the authorities will not have satisfied the politically relevant. By leaving the redistricting and the authority structure open for the Legislature to determine, the Board has failed to satisfy the majority of the white community who perceive this uncertainty as a threat. Thus, the Board continues in its pattern of not utilizing its full authority to deal with the disputes stemming from the demonstration project, either because it recognizes its insufficient influence and power to exercise authority or it prefers to maintain a state of ambiguity, thereby offending the least number of politically relevant advocates of comprehensive change.

Is it possible for the authorities to respond adequately to these paradoxical needs: decentralization for the whites (few of whom want community influence in the schools) and decentralization for the blacks (most of whom want more community influence in the schools)? Is it possible for the authorities to satisfy the politically relevant blacks, who are the most active, the most articulate, and the most demanding, without arousing white resistance? As the plan for decentralization takes final shape, one can anticipate that rising levels of dissatisfaction will repeat the cycle of increased demands and decreasing support, unless alternative processes for transforming urban education are formulated with care, skill, a sense of urgency, and concern for the viability of the larger community.

A Paradigm for Transforming Urban Education

We have learned that there is much dissonance in the school system and that it is enhanced by both the authorities and the clients.

The discord, tension, and conflict, in turn, affect both the public officials and the parents as they shape their respective responses and reactions. Generally, the outputs have not been clear because policies have had few specific plans and those plans have been inadequately implemented.

The authoritative output of desegregation never was accepted by white parents as a comprehensive change. It provided conflicting stimuli and different expectations for various segments of the clientele. Most parents in the disadvantaged and minority communities wanted desegregation; most of those in the advantaged and white communities did not. While the minority communities responded with support for the authorities and rising expectations for better education, the whites decreased their support for the authorities and increased their demands for quality education. When the desegregation output provided only policy formulation, piecemeal plans,and partial implementation, the reactions of the disadvantaged parents were ambivalent. Some responded with increased pedagogical demands and some developed incipient power demands. There was sufficient information feedback for the authorities to be caught between the contradictory demands and differential offerings of support from the polarized white and black segments of the greater community and the fragmented black community.

As stress grew in the system, the authorities were forced to respond with an output which could better balance the demands and the supports. Therefore, they formulated an administrative decentralization policy which recognized the de facto control of the local neighborhood school by whites and the growing desire for similar control by blacks over *their* neighborhood schools. Ambiguities also developed around the three demonstration projects and the concept of community control. Viewed as structural reorganization by some and as a comprehensive power shift by others, decentralization received favorable generalized support. However, considerable dissonance was heard when the specific plan of operation was implemented and the various participants saw how their vested interests would be affected. Once more, contradictory demands were generated, differential feedback was received, and the authorities again were caught between opposing, polarized views of decentralization.

We have formulated the following paradigm of the processes available for transforming urban education (see Figure XII.1). In addition to five alternative processes, we have specified some necessary conditions, the change agents, their general strategies, and the consequential outputs andoutcomes of the processes. Urban education has been undergoing a transformation as a result of changing policy outputs in response to the changing school clientele. The traditional process preferred by educators is *professionalization*; their objective is to make the staff more effective or skillful. The educators prefer to work under conditions that insulate the schools from the vicissitudes of the political community, in other words, to "keep politics out of the schools." They expect to achieve sufficient change through pedagogical programs and practices with the specific educational objective being high quality schools. This, of course, is defined by the professional, with the

FIGURE XII.1

A PARADIGM SHOWING ALTERNATIVE PROCESSES FOR TRANSFORMING URBAN EDUCATION

Processes	Objectives	Change Agents	Necessary Conditions	Strategies	Consequential Outputs	Outcomes
Professionalization	Effectiveness	Educators	Insulation	Pedagogical	Differential achievement	Stress in the school system
Management	Efficiency	Bureaucracy/ political leaders	Competition	Compromise	Incremental change	Dissatisfaction with schools
Reform	Restructuring	Reformers	Righteous indignation	Crusade	Reorganization	Shift in authority
Politicization	Actuisition of power	Ideologues	Mutually exclusive cleavages	Confrontation	Policy paralysis	Community conflict
Mediation	Amelioration	Mediators	Tension	Negotiation	Ad hoc agreements	Regenerated community tensions
Creative tension	Innovation	Status leaders (inside)/catalytic agents outside?	Severe conflict	Common tasks	Superordinate goals	Comprehensive societal change

support of the prevailing groups in society. The predicted general results of this process in the diverse changing urban scene are differential achievement rates based on caste and class, with growing awareness of these differentials by the educationally deprived. The expected outcome is stress and strain on the school system.

As spokesmen articulate the educational demands of the disadvantaged, there is a growing insistence on the implementation of a policy of equality of educational opportunities through such programs as desegregation and compensatory education. As change agents, the political leadership and bureaucracy are expected to formulate and implement consequential policy outputs that provide quality-integrated education. Operating under competitive conditions, they attempt to manage in order to make the system more efficient on a cost-benefit basis by evolving strategies of compromise yielding only incremental change. The most likely outcome is a dissatisfied minority subcommunity with few representatives in the power structure who will support them in the struggle for equality in the schools.

As disappointment and dissatisfaction mount, and the processes of management continue to respond inadequately, the articulation and content of new demands grow out of a sense of frustration and urgency. The sense of righteous indignation deepens as reformers attempt to reform the educational system through restructuring. Their strategic crusades generally result in reorganizational outputs with shifts in authority as the outcome.

Shifts in authority often are inadequate both in degree and in timing. Therefore, the conditions of mutually exclusive and ever-widening cleavages in the social system, at least at the threshhold of awareness, develop the politicization of the populace, with the objective being the acquisition of power. The strident voices of the ideologues as change agents dominate the political dialogue and their advocacy polarizes the issue. Policy paralysis ensues, because the authorities can provide few germane outputs to satisfy the majority. The controversy grows and the issue becomes depersonalized into support of abstract, doctrinaire, and dogmatic positions. The conflict becomes contagious and imminently threatening to other key variables throughout the larger, pluralistic community. One contemporary form experienced in American cities is urban revolt and riots.

As open conflict threatens the community, there is a recognized need to reduce tension. Two processes are suggested here if community contention, controversy, and conflict are not to destroy or seriously impair the viability of the system. The first is the process of mediation; with its objective of ameliorating tensions, it is apt to be a piecemeal, last-minute effort to avert a crisis. Each tension-producing situation is treated as unique by skilled professionals who attempt to negotiate ad hoc agreements to at least temporarily reduce tensions. Inasmuch as mediation deals primarily with the symptoms of the dispute and not the causal factors, the long-range outcomes are likely to promote the regeneration of tension and the possibility of severe conflict. When expectations are not realized, the mediation processes themselves come into disrepute and may themselves be discarded.

The second process is creative tension, with the ultimate objective of innovation. Status leaders from inside the system or catalytic agents generally from outside the system operate under conditions of severe conflict to create an atmosphere where the participants with vested interests can engage in the strategy of discovering superordinate goals. The process of discovery utilizes the problem-solving methods of professionalization, management, politicization, and mediation. But it also includes a commitment to maximize sensitivity experiences, which take into account human emotions and probe in depth the realistic power bases of those who are participating in the process. The objective is to learn from these experiences. This process should release a new-found energy base which can be mobilized in the search for the superordinate goals. The most likely outcome is comprehensive change within the framework of a just society.

In New York City, with growing stress between the rigid cleavages of ethnic class, what process can we expect? It is most likely that the participants will continue to use the processes of professionalization, management, and escalating politicization, so that the authorities can provide a few outputs that will satisfy a majority of the clientele. If the system is to endure, then some means must be found to narrow the cleavages or provide goals and procedures that are acceptable to at least the politically relevant in the contending polarized groups. We are now at the point of an educational if not an urban crisis, the direction of which can turn to either a manmade disaster or creative and comprehensive change.

New Yorkers must expect a complex process of discovery in which all the participants--the authorities and the clients, the powerful and the powerless, the advantaged and the disadvantaged--must share. The authorities--whether elected or appointed, whether local, state, or federal--must exercise their leadership to develop the necessary and sufficient superordinate goals and facilitate the procedures for realizing them. They should understand the attitudes, sentiments, and beliefs of their constituents, so that the goals and procedures are both realistic and conceived to be politically feasible.